

**THE BANŪ SULAYM**  
**A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF EARLY ISLAM**

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*Institute of Asian and African Studies  
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# **THE BANŪ SULAYM**

**A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF EARLY ISLAM**

by  
*Michael Lecker*

**1989**

*The Hebrew University of Jerusalem*





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# Foreword

The study presented here was supported by the Rothschild Foundation, that provided a fellowship to help cover the expenses of my stay in England in 1984–5. While in England, I benefited greatly from the advice of Prof. Michael Cook, who read a draft of this monograph and raised many relevant questions.

I am grateful to my friend and colleague Dr. Ella Landau-Tasseron. She kindly read the first draft and offered her observations and remarks.<sup>1</sup> I wish to thank the following colleagues, who read the draft at different stages of its preparation: Dr. Frank Stewart, Prof. Uri Rubin and Dr. Lawrence Conrad. I am indebted to them for many valuable comments. Mr. Sam Friedmann and Mrs. Barbara Barrett have suggested many stylistic improvements. Finally, I wish to thank my teacher, Prof. M. J. Kister, for his guidance and inspiration over the years.

As is clear throughout the book, I benefited immensely from the work of the Saudi scholar Ḥamad al-Jāsir. In his editions of texts and his studies, and especially in his outstanding journal, the *Majallat al-‘arab* (Riyāḍ) that is now entering its twentieth year, Jāsir has contributed more than any other scholar to the study of the historical geography of Arabia. Of special significance for my work were his series of articles on the letters of the Prophet to Sulaym and his reviews of ‘Abd al-Qaddūs al-Anṣārī’s book on the Banū Sulaym.<sup>2</sup>

I have left the name Medina unchanged even when referring to the place in pre-Islamic period. The definite article has been suppressed in frequently-quoted names such as al-‘Abbās,<sup>3</sup> al-Ḥajjāj, al-Ḥīra and

1 Parts of her thesis, *Aspects of the ridda wars*, Jerusalem 1981, have already been published; see Abbreviations, under Landau-Tasseron.

2 See Abbreviations, under Jāsir. Unfortunately, I could not obtain al-Anṣārī’s book.

3 Cf. the indications that the article in this name was not used invariably, e.g. Balādh., *Ansāb*, I, p. 530, no. 1067; *Aghānī*, XVI, p. 145, l. 6.

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an-Nu'mān. In referring to books I usually employ the author's last name and a short mention of the title. In referring to articles (with the exception of Jāsir's series of articles on Sulaym), the writer's name and the year of publication.

The map on p. XIII was prepared at the Department of Geography of the Hebrew University by Mrs. Michal Kidron. I am indebted to her, as well as to Prof. Arie Shachar, Chairman of the Institute for Urban and Regional Studies, for his kind help. The sources are two 1:500,000 maps: the Geographic Map of the Northeastern Hijaz and the Geographic Map of the Southern Hijaz (I-205 B and I-210 B, respectively) prepared by the U.S. Geological Survey and ARAMCO (1959). Unfortunately, they include fewer place-names than the earlier British maps.<sup>4</sup> I also used the "Map of the Northern Hijaz 800-1150" attached to Wuhaybī, *Northern Hijāz* and map no. III in Rāshid, *Zubayda*.

4 Meyer, *Aiyām*, p. 122 n. 4.

# Introduction

The following study is devoted to a single Arabian tribe, the Banū (henceforth: B.) Sulaym.<sup>5</sup> It is based on a large number of records, gleaned from a variety of sources: biographical dictionaries, genealogical literature, geographical literature, *adab* compilations, *sīra* and other chronologies, *Diwāns* and Qur'ān interpretations. It does not claim to be exhaustive. Many other relevant records dispersed in the literature will certainly be brought to light by future research. My aim is to point to the potential hidden in the study of tribal Arabia for future research of pre-Islamic and early Islamic history.

I began the study with modest intentions. Looking into the settlement of tribal groups in pre-Islamic Medina (Yathrib), a few Sulamī clans emerged. I began tracing them in the sources and found that the sources abound with references to Sulamī individuals and groups. This is encouraging, as the Sulaym were not the most significant or powerful tribe in Arabia. The same work could, of course, be carried out on any other tribe.

The study focuses on Sulaym in the crucial transition period from Jāhiliyya to Islam and therefore it contributes something to the study of the Prophet and his time. Most of the study is concentrated in Arabia, although a few leading families are followed into the Islamic conquests and the early Umayyad period. The study is based on Arabic primary sources for the history of early Islam that have not yet been exhausted. It shows that dedicating a monograph to a single tribe is a feasible and useful project.<sup>6</sup> Tribal Arabia still offers many similar challenges for

5 Cf. on them *EP*<sup>1</sup> s.v. Sulaim (H. Lammens).

6 Cf. Kister 1965b; Donner 1980.

research. The concentration on one tribe makes it possible to collect a large amount of data. The larger the data-base, the more chances there are of finding meeting-points between isolated and otherwise obscure pieces of evidence. Putting the pieces together is comparable to solving a jigsaw puzzle in which each detail contributes to the total picture. To mention but one example: two of the prominent families in the *ayyām* (Ch. VII) were found among the recipients of letters of the Prophet (Ch. VIII). In addition, by concentrating on a specific group one often gets a sense of continuity: as is evident in many passages throughout the study, it is possible to trace the history of individuals and families from the pre-Islamic period into the Umayyad period.

Some of the material adduced below is of dubious origin. Indeed, the contradictions and incongruities in the sources are sometimes frustrating for the historian, but this should not lead to excessive scepticism. It is true that quite often one is confronted with two or more versions concerning a certain matter. Rather than declare one version as the "truth" one should leave it at that. Even when we have only one version, it may be assumed that we have not yet found the other versions. (Incidentally, even a report which is dubious on the whole may include sound information: a Sulamī who allegedly embraced Islam before the *hijra* returned afterwards to the places inhabited by his clan. The place-names are reliable.) Yet there is no "plot" masterminded by cunning Islamic historians to make us believe in a past that has never existed. It is necessary to take new routes in order to learn the history of early Islam. Tribal Arabia is one such route. Even when concentrating on the settlements: Mecca, Medina, Ṭā'if etc., the foundations will remain, I believe, the same: genealogy and geography, place-names and tribal divisions. The belief of some that it is possible to reconstruct, say, the life of the Prophet by merely reproducing the narrative of Ibn Ishāq or Wāqidī, dialogues and all, appears naive indeed. Only by cross-sectioning the sources can we arrive at a fresh perception of the Islamic past.

The arrangement of the book has been problematic, as there has been no model for me to follow. Chapter I is introductory. It presents Sulaym in their territory and deals with their links with other tribes. The next three chapters (II-IV) deal with the three main divisions (dubbed "branches")

of Sulaym. The other chapters (V-IX) are dedicated to prominent topics concerning the tribe. Yet, the affiliation of individuals and clans to a particular branch is always mentioned. The Concluding Remarks (chapter X) contain a summary of the main findings. The five Appendices deal with aspects which were found to be important enough to merit a separate discussion.

### *A note on the sources*

The study of an Arabian tribe is founded on geography and genealogy. The geographical library on Arabia, both edited texts and specialized studies on various regions, has grown considerably in recent years.<sup>7</sup> In addition, there are scattered pieces of information in other sources on the territories of specific tribal groups.

The genealogical literature provides the necessary details on the divisions within the tribe, in addition to details on its prominent members, especially the contemporaries of the Prophet.<sup>8</sup> The number of available texts is growing constantly, as texts are being published for the first time.

The biographical dictionaries on the companions of the Prophet merit special notice. They often preserve records or fragments of records from sources which have not reached us. The entries enable us to follow the Prophet's companions through different stages in their lives, from pre-Islamic times to the Umayyad period.

7 Significant work has also been carried out on the archaeology of Arabia; see the seven issues that appeared so far of the *Atlāl* journal (1977-83). The scanty evidence concerning the land of Sulaym relates mainly to the pilgrim routes and the mines. On tomb inscriptions, most of which come from the land of the B. Sulaym, see Bāshā 1979.

8 However, pre-Islamic heroes and prominent members in the Umayyad and, to a lesser extent, in the early 'Abbasid period, are also mentioned. On the dearth of genealogical information relating to the period after the second century A.H. cf. Jāsir's remark in Hajari, p. 112.



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Having reviewed briefly the main sources in Arabic, I wish to contrast my approach with that of Donner concerning the problem of ethnological evidence and its relevance. Much of the first chapter of Donner's recent book<sup>9</sup> (titled: "State and society in pre-Islamic Arabia") is based on ethnological evidence. In his preface, Donner argues<sup>10</sup> in favour of the "use of ethnographic literature, much of it of quite recent origin, to help elucidate economic, social, and political structures that flourished over thirteen centuries ago". Donner assures us of rigorous categories in the application of this evidence, "The ancient evidence, although limited in extent, thus provides the vital means for determining when an historical parallel between ancient and recent conditions should, or should not, be drawn". He goes on to suggest, that "if we wish to venture any meaningful interpretation at all, we are forced to draw, albeit cautiously, on later materials to explain certain early conditions. What we attempt to do, in short, is to use the known to shed light on the unknown". I wish to express a more sceptical view. In my opinion, at the present stage of our knowledge of pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabia, it is better to resort to the findings of the social scientists on purely technical aspects only: it is possible that a camel can now carry the same load it could carry fourteen centuries ago. But as regards the economic, social, and political aspects of life in ancient Arabia, we have to rely, for the time being, on the evidence of the primary sources.

9 *Conquests*, pp. 11-49.

10 P. ix.





# I

## The land of the B. Sulaym and their links with other tribes

### *The land*

There is fairly extensive evidence concerning the land of Sulaym because it is located roughly between Mecca and Medina and along the last parts of the Kūfa and Baṣra pilgrim routes. We could not undertake an exhaustive discussion of all the places mentioned in our sources. However, many place-names, particularly those of places which can be located accurately, have been included.

The territory of Sulaym is in the Ḥijāz, according to the definition of Aṣma'ī of the Ḥijāz.<sup>1</sup> Ḥamad al-Jāsir says<sup>2</sup> that the land of the B. Sulaym was in the 'Āliya of Najd and the eastern edges of the Ḥijāz. The 'Āliya of Najd is that part of it which is close to the Ḥijāz and Tihāma.<sup>3</sup> In the south they bordered on 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a, in the north on the Tha'laba b. Sa'd b. Ghaṭafān, in the northwest on the Muzayna and in the southwest on the Hudhayl. Their territory stretched from the eastern lava flows

1 Samh., II, p. 1182 (quoting Aṣma'ī's *Jazīrat al-'arab*); Wuhaybi 1970, p. 63. A slightly variant (and more accurate) statement appears elsewhere in Aṣma'ī's book: the Ḥijāz comprises twelve tribal territories (*dār*), among them that of the main part of Sulaym (*jull Sulaym*).

2 I quote from Ḥamad al-Jāsir, *Dārāt al-'arab* (no. 7), in *al-'Arab* 4, vii (April 1970), pp. 633-4.

3 Lughda, p. 336. See e.g. Yāqūt, s.vv. as-Sitār, Ṣufayna.

(*hirār*) of Medina to the water-place ad-Dafina (see map; nowadays: a settlement, *balda*) and from the *wādīs* draining from the *ḥarra* of B. Sulaym to the borders of the *ḥimās* of Ḍariyya and ar-Rabadha. At the last-mentioned boundary their land touched upon the land of Muḥārib. This means that they inhabited most of the vast territory between longitudes 23°20' and 24°25' and latitudes 40°20' and 42°00'.

### *The ḥarrat B. Sulaym and its boundaries*

The most prominent part of the land of the B. Sulaym is the lava flow, or *ḥarra*, which was once named after them. It stretches over 24,000 sq. km.<sup>4</sup> The topography of the *ḥarra* provided its inhabitants with a natural defensive barrier, because cavalry could not operate there.<sup>5</sup> Even in the Umayyad period the poet al-Akḥṭal accused the B. Sulaym of seeking shelter in their black *ḥarra*.<sup>6</sup>

*Ḥarrat* B. Sulaym (see map) stretches from Dhāt 'Irq in the south to the environs of Medina, and in the east from the northwestern edge of Rukba and the 'Aqīq (see map) to Ruhāt in the west. It has long extensions which come close to the sea and one of its edges is Thaniyyat Harshā.<sup>7</sup>

The northern part of the *ḥarrat* B. Sulaym is nowadays called *ḥarrat* Abī

4 Zarins *et al.* 1980, p. 11.

5 Cf. Aṣma'i's definition of *Hijāz*: *wa-innamā summiya l-Hijāzu ḥijāzan li-kathrati l-ḥirāri fīhi li-anna ahla l-ḥarra yaḥtajizūna bihā mina l-khayl*, *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* (Lyll), I, 415–6. Kaḥḥāla, *Jughrāfiyyat*, pp. 78–9, says that *ḥarrat* Sulaym, which is also known as *ḥarrat al-Madīna* (*sic*) is not much smaller in surface area than the *ḥarrat* Khaybar and in places it is higher than the latter.

6 *Naqā'id Jarīr wa-l-Akḥṭal*, pp. 30, l. 4 (=Akḥṭal, *Dīwān*, p. 180); 160, l. 8 (the latter verse mentions "their two *ḥarras*"); see below, n. 9.

7 Lughda, p. 372, n. 3. The editors remark that from the description of Lughda it is understood that *ḥarrat* Kushub was considered part of the *ḥarrat* B. Sulaym; in fact, they say, it is to its east and is separated from it by a non-*ḥarra* area.

Rāshid, its central part is called *ḥarrat al-Kushub*<sup>8</sup> and its southern part is called *ḥarrat Ruhāt*.<sup>9</sup>

The borders of the *ḥarrat B. Sulaym* are described by Hajārī. He says that it begins (i.e., in the south) from Dhāt 'Irq (today: aḍ-Ḍarība)<sup>10</sup> and Ruhāt. Then it is interrupted by (*tanqaṭi'u bi-*) Ḥubs 'Uwāl behind Tayb.<sup>11</sup> It extends (i.e., in the north) until it reaches close to aṭ-Ṭaraf, the station before Medina (i.e., on the Kūfa pilgrim route).<sup>12</sup> Hajārī also says that the *ḥarrat B. Sulaym* is the largest *ḥarra*, extending over more than eight days' journey. *Ḥarrat B. Sulaym* had a nickname, Umm Ṣabbār.<sup>13</sup>

### *A few localities east of the ḥarra*

Aṭ-Ṭaraf (today: aṣ-Ṣuwaydira) is 38 km. west of al-Ḥinākiyya (=the old

8 Cf. I. Shajāri, *Mukhtārāt*, p. 59: Kushub, or Kashib, is a well-known mountain near Wajra.

9 Jāsir, in *Manāsik*, p. 334, n. 4. The *Manāsik* (pp. 334–5) says, however, that the *ḥarrat B. Sulaym* in fact includes two *ḥarras* which are separated by a vacant area (*faḍā'*); each of them is less than two miles(?): *wa-humā ḥarratāni, baynahumā faḍā', kiltāhumā aqallu min milayni*. See also Hamḍānī, *Ṣiḥā*, p. 380, l. 3 (*ḥarratā Sulaym*).

10 For the identification of Dhāt 'Irq with aḍ-Ḍarība see Wuhaybī, *Northern Ḥijāz*, p. 31. Dhāt 'Irq is also mentioned as a border point between Najd and Tihāma, Samh., s.v. al-Ḥijāz, II, p. 1182.

11 See below.

12 Hajārī, p. 231; Lughḍa, p. 15, note.

13 Yāqūt, s.vv. *ḥarrat Sulaym*, Umm Ṣabbār. However, Yāqūt confuses *ḥarrat Sulaym* with *ḥarrat an-Nār*, saying that the latter belongs to the B. Sulaym and is called Umm Ṣabbār. Other definitions state that Umm Ṣabbār is an isolated mountain (*qunna*, below, n. 48) in the *ḥarrat B. Sulaym* and that Umm Ṣabbār is *ḥarrat an-Nār* and *ḥarrat Layla* (cf. below, n. 74). However, from Hajārī, *loc. cit.* it is clear that *ḥarrat an-Nār* is north of *ḥarrat B. Sulaym* and *ḥarrat Layla* is north of *ḥarrat an-Nār*. Hajārī states that Khaybar is in the *ḥarrat an-Nār* and Jāsir has already observed that *ḥarrat an-Nār* is identical to *ḥarrat Khaybar* and not to *ḥarrat B. Sulaym*; see also *Maghānim*, p. 111, n. 2. For an alternative explanation of the conflicting definitions see below, n. 85.

Baṭn Nakhl). It is located in a valley which is “after” *wādī* ash-Shuqra and the two valleys converge. Al-Ḥinākiyya is 90 km. from Medina, near 24°55’ and 40°30’.<sup>14</sup> One of the mountains surrounding aṭ-Ṭaraf is ‘Uwāl. Other mountains around it are Ḥalim and al-La‘bā’.<sup>15</sup> Both ‘Uwāl and Ḥalim belonged to Ghaṭafān.<sup>16</sup>

Concerning the distance between aṭ-Ṭaraf and Medina, Yāqūt<sup>17</sup> says that it was a day and a night’s journey from Medina. Another source, describing the road from Medina to Fayd, says that from *Baṭn Nakhl* (which according to this source belongs to Fazāra) to aṭ-Ṭaraf there are 20 miles and from aṭ-Ṭaraf to Medina there are 25 miles.<sup>18</sup> (However, Ibn Sa’d says that aṭ-Ṭaraf is a water-place near al-Mirād<sup>19</sup> and before (*dūna*) an-Nukhayl, thirty-six miles from Medina on the road to an-Naqira,<sup>20</sup> on the pilgrim route.) Concerning the distance from Medina, Zurqānī quotes ash-Sharīf (i.e., al-Idrīsī) who mentions that aṭ-Ṭaraf is at a distance of twenty-five and a quarter miles from Medina.<sup>21</sup> The name aṭ-Ṭaraf is

14 *Manāsik*, pp. 521, 565; Jāsir, *Ghāmīd*, 21; *Maghānim*, p. 407, n. 1. See on al-Ḥinākiyya Jāsir, *Mu’jam jughrāfi*, I, p. 361.

15 ‘Uwāl was also called *ḥazm B. ‘Uwāl*; see Yāqūt, s.v. Concerning the text of ‘Arrām and Samh., II, s.v. ‘Uwāl; see *Maghānim*, p. 285, n. 1. The definition of *ḥarrai* B. Sulaym in Samh., II, s.v. is partial and covers only the area southeast of the *ḥimā an-Naqī* (“under the *ḥimā an-Naqī* to the east”).

16 *Maghānim*, s.v. Ṭaraf, p. 237; ‘Arrām, p. 424; Yāqūt, s.v. ‘Uwāl. On aṭ-Ṭaraf see also Wuhaybi, *Northern Hijāz*, pp. 375–80.

17 *Loc. cit.*, quoting Ibn Mūsā (i.e., al-Ḥāzimi; cf. *Manāsik*, p. 345, n. 3).

18 Samh., s.v. Baṭn Nakhl. The route of the tax collector sent to the B. Fazāra in the Islamic period shows that the territories of “B. Sulaym” (more specifically B. Imri’i l-Qays) and B. Fazāra were adjacent, Bakrī, s.v. Janfā’, II, p. 398. At an-Naqira he collected the taxes from the B. Sulaym and the B. Shamkh (from Fazāra).

19 I follow the vocalisation in Hajarī, p. 366 (*fa-Mirād Sulaym mina ṭ-Ṭaraf wa-Nakhl, wa-huwa mustarād mā*). Zurqānī, *loc. cit.*, I, 9, vocalises: al-Marād; Samh., s.v. mentions the version al-Mirād. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.v. *r.w.d.* defines *marād*: “Hard ground in the lower, or lowest, part of a plain or of soft ground”.

20 Printed erroneously: al-Baqara.

21 However, Idrīsī, I, p. 163 has: fifteen miles.

presumably preserved in the modern name Umm ʿIṭrif, that refers to a place located exactly as described above. The water-place called aṣ-Ṣuwaydira is near this village to the southwest. It is presumably none other than as-Sidra, which was one of the water-places in the mountain ʿUwāl; as already mentioned above it was one of the mountains surrounding aṭ-Ṭaraf.<sup>22</sup>

Thayʿab was a mountain east of Medina, closer than aṭ-Ṭaraf, as the distance was only one postal stage (four parasangs or 24 km.). It was in the upper part (*ṣadr*) of *wādī* Qanāt, one of the longest *wādīs* in the Ḥijāz.<sup>23</sup> Thayʿab,<sup>24</sup> which was also mentioned above as a border point of the *ḥarrat* B. Sulaym in the north, significantly appears in the reports on the boundaries of the *ḥaram* of Medina.<sup>25</sup> Here, as in other points, it becomes evident that the territory of Sulaym touched upon Medina. *Wādī* Qanāt flows through various Sulamī localities, among them Qarqarat al-Kudr. Al-Qarqara again provides a link with ʿUwāl: it is one of the water-places of this mountain.

### *Other localities on the eastern slopes of the ḥarra*

Most of the evidence adduced below relates to one of the branches of Sulaym called Imruʿu l-Qays. Several agricultural settlements belonging to the B. Imriʿi l-Qays were located along the *wādī* Qanāt and near its course in the vicinity of Suwāriqiyya (see map). *Wādī* Qanāt arrives at Medina from al-Qarqara and from Shawrān, both of which belong to

22 ʿArrām, p. 425. The editor refers here to Bakrī, IV, p. 1326, where *ḥafīrat as-Sidra* is mentioned, but this is irrelevant here because the place mentioned in Bakrī was in the Naqīʿ south of Medina. See on as-Sidra also Bakrī, III, p. 729; cf. Bakrī, s.v. Ẓalīm, III, p. 906. Zayd b. Ḥāritha led an expedition against the B. Thaʿlaba in aṭ-Ṭaraf, in Jumādā l-Ākhira, 6 A.H.; see e.g. Wāqidi, II, p. 555; I. Saʿd, II, p. 87; Zurqānī, II, p. 158.

23 *Maghānim*, Index, s.vv. Thayʿab and Thayb; *Manāsik*, p. 408 and n. 4; Hajari, p. 220.

24 Also called Thayb and Tayb, and there are other versions of this place-name.

25 Samh., I, pp. 100–1.



Sulaym.<sup>26</sup> Jāsir clarifies that al-Qarqara mentioned here is Qarqarat al-Kudr which is located behind the dam created by a volcanic eruption near al-Arḥaḍiyya.<sup>27</sup> On Shawrān Jāsir mentions that it is a lava flow overlooking *sadd Mu'āwiya* (the dam of Mu'āwiya) east of Medina.<sup>28</sup> He also says that the statement concerning the sources of Qanāt being in al-Qarqara and Shawrān refers to the tributaries which are close to Medina: Qanāt, which is also called al-'Aqīq, comes from Ṭā'if.<sup>29</sup>

Along the Qanāt were al-Arḥaḍiyya,<sup>30</sup> Qarqarat al-Kudr, Bi'r Mu'āwiya and the side of al-Qadūm below the graves of those killed in the battle of Uḥud. Then it flows to Mujtama' al-Asyāl (also known as Mujtama' as-Suyūl) in Zaghāba.<sup>31</sup>

The inland road between Medina and Mecca that crossed the land of B. Sulaym was called *an-Najdiyya*. It was, at least in part, identical to the course of *wādī* Qanāt. When Abū Sufyān, after the battle of Badr (see map), planned an action against an unnamed party in Medina, he advanced on the *Najdiyya* and camped at the upper part of *wādī* Qanāt, near the Thay'ab mountain (the name of which is much disputed in the sources). From there he sent a unit on a punitive raid. After the raid, the Prophet pursued Abū Sufyān until he reached Qarqarat al-Kudr –

26 *Manāsik*, p. 411.

27 On Qarqara and a tentative identification of its inhabitants see below, Ch. III, n. 93; see also Lughda, pp. 401–2.

28 See on this *sadd* also Lughda, p. 401.

29 Qanāt is said to arrive from *wādī* Wajj (see map) in Ṭā'if, Samh., II, p. 1074; *Maghānim*, s.v. Qanāt, p. 351. This 'Aqīq should not be confused with the better-known 'Aqīq west of Medina or with the 'Aqīq 'Uqayl; on the latter see below, n. 242.

30 There are also other forms of the name; see below.

31 See the section on Qanāt in Samh., II, pp. 1074–5; Yāqūt, s.v.; Bakrī, s.v., IV, p. 1096; *Maghānim*, s.vv. Qanāt and *wādī* Qanāt; *Umdat al-akhbār*, pp. 346–7. According to Samh., p. 1074, only what was “above” (i.e., north of) Medina near the dam formed by the lava stream was called ash-Shazāt. See on the volcanic eruption Samh., I, pp. 139f; II, pp. 1074–5.

obviously Abū Sufyān used the same route when retreating to Mecca.<sup>32</sup> The first station on the Medina-Fayd road was Bi'r as-Sā'ib, twenty-four miles from Medina, which was also the first station on the Najdiyya road.<sup>33</sup> This means that the roads merged just before Medina.

Among the settlements mentioned above, the remotest from Medina was al-Arḥaḍiyya.<sup>34</sup> According to Samhūdī it was mid-way between Medina and the *ma'din* B. Sulaym (see map), fifty-five miles from each. Hārūn ar-Rashīd took this route when he returned from Medina. This is linked to the problem of which of the holy cities, Mecca or Medina, should be visited first on the pilgrimage. Some, including Hārūn ar-Rashīd, began by visiting Medina but returned on the Najdiyya road<sup>35</sup> that leads to the *ma'din* B. Sulaym through al-Arḥaḍiyya.<sup>36</sup> The road from ar-Rabadha to Medina via Abraḡ al-'Azzāf, the total length of which was 102 miles, was used by ar-Rashīd on his way to Medina; he then returned from Medina on another road of exactly the same length, which goes to the *ma'din* B. Sulaym via al-Arḥaḍiyya.<sup>37</sup> Jāsir reports<sup>38</sup> that ar-Riḥḍiyya is still known today. The links between Sulaym and Medina will be discussed below in detail. Of special interest is 'Arrām's report that this settlement belonged to both the *Anṣār* and the B. Sulaym.<sup>39</sup> There is

32 See Bakrī, IV, p. 1295 and the *sira* literature under *ghazwat as-sawīq*. And cf. Lughda, p. 338.

33 Samh., s.v.: *Bi'r as-Sā'ib bi-t-tariqi n-Najdi* etc.; cf. *Manāsik*, p. 330.

34 Or ar-Riḥḍiyya. Samhūdī reports that in his time it was known as ar-Ruḥḍiyya. 'Arrām mentions it after he mentions the mountains Shawrān and Mayṭan.

35 Cf. on the Najdiyya Wāqidi, I, pp. 13, 181; II, p. 722.

36 Samh., II, p. 1124, s.v. al-Arḥaḍiyya.

37 *Manāsik*, p. 330.

38 In *Maghānim* and in *Manāsik*, pp. 330, n. 5.

39 *Qarya li-l-anṣār wa-B. Sulaym*, Yāqūt, s.vv. ar-Riḥḍiyya, al-Arḥaḍiyya; Bakrī, III, p. 907 (printed: ar-Ruḥayḍa!); see also Bakrī, s.v. ar-Ruḥayḍa, II, p. 645, where there is reference to s.vv. Ḍariyya and Zalim; however, these s.vv. mention places different from each other, the former has ar-Ruḥayḍa while the latter has ar-Riḥḍiyya (our); 'Arrām, p. 427 (vocalised: ar-Raḥḍiyya, with the remark that this is the form found in Yāqūt!); Samh.,

evidence of agriculture in ar-Riḥḍiyya: it had wells, the water of which was used to irrigate many fields (*zurūʿ*) and palm trees.

Al-Ḥijr “opposite” ar-Riḥḍiyya was obviously close to it. Samhūdī mentions that near al-Arḥaḍiyya (=ar-Riḥḍiyya) there is a place called (i.e., in his time) al-Ḥijriyya. It must be identical to al-Ḥijr mentioned by ‘Arrām. Modern al-Ḥajariyya is probably the same place. ‘Arrām mentions that Ḥijr, which is a settlement or a tract of land with water supply from both fountains and from wells (*miyāh ‘uyūn wa-ābār*), belongs to B. Sulaym alone.<sup>40</sup>

The black mountains of Ublā which belong to the B. Sulaym<sup>41</sup> are said by Naṣr to be at the *ma’din* B. Sulaym or near it.<sup>42</sup> They are mentioned by ‘Arrām after *wādī Dhī Rawlān* and before *Suwāriqiyya* (see map), an indication that they were located between these places, south of Dhū Rawlān and north of *Suwāriqiyya*. From ‘Arrām’s description we learn of a few other places in the vicinity of the Ublā mountains: *wādī ‘Urayfiṭān Ma’n* opposite the Ublā mountains,<sup>43</sup> as-Sawda/ash-Shawra, aṣ-Ṣa’biyya, an-Nāziya, Bi’r Ma’ūna, Dhū Sā’ida, Jamājim/Ḥamāḥim, al-Wasbā’, Dhū l-Mawqa’a, al-Hadabiyya and others. This is followed in ‘Arrām by a unique description of *Suwāriqiyya*.<sup>44</sup>

In *wādī ‘Urayfiṭān Ma’n*, between *wādī Dhū Rawlān* and *Suwāriqiyya*, there were small date trees and fortresses which sheltered the passers-by

s.vv. ar-Riḥḍiyya, al-Arḥaḍiyya; *Umdat al-akḥbār*, pp. 283–4, 205; *Maghānim*, pp. 14, 154. According to Samh., s.v. al-Arḥaḍiyya, a MS. of ‘Arrām has the form ar-Ruḥḍiyya, which may indicate that it was an early form of the name.

40 *Khāṣṣatan*; the word is added by Samh., who quotes ‘Arrām. The addition indicates that, unlike the preceding place ar-Riḥḍiyya, which they shared with the *Anṣār*, al-Ḥijr was inhabited by Sulaym alone, ‘Arrām, p. 427; Samh., s.v. Ḥijr; *Maghānim*, p. 106, n. 1.

41 Lughda, p. 402.

42 Naṣr al-Iskandarānī, *Kitāb al-amkina wa-l-miyāh wa-l-jibāl wa-l-āthār*, MS Br. Lib., fol. 3a: *jibāl ‘inda ma’din B. Sulaym aw qariba minhu*. See also Lughda, p. 188.

43 See on ‘Urayfiṭān Ma’n also Yāqūt, s.v. ‘Urayfiṭān; Bakrī, s.v., III, pp. 939, 907; I, p. 98; Samh., s.vv. ‘Urayfiṭān and Ublā; *Maghānim*, s.v., pp. 260–1 and s.v. Ublā, p. 4.

44 See Appendix B.

from the sun and resembled castles.<sup>45</sup> The *wādī*, more precisely a water-place which was in it, was on the road of Zubayda (Darb Zubayda; see map) called *Munaqqā Zubayda* by B. Sulaym.<sup>46</sup>

In a few of the above places there is explicit mention of the Sulamī group that lived in them, namely the B. Khufāf<sup>47</sup> from the Imru'ū l-Qays branch. Opposite *wādī* 'Urayfiṭān Ma'n there was an isolated mountain<sup>48</sup> called as-Sawda or ash-Shawra. It belonged to the B. Khufāf.<sup>49</sup> The water-place belonging to the people of as-Sawda is called aṣ-Ṣa'biyya. It consisted of adjacent wells near which there were plants. It also had sweet water and a vast land.<sup>50</sup> Aṣ-Ṣa'biyya, exactly like the above-mentioned ar-Riḥdiyya, bears evidence of cooperation between the people of Medina and the B. Sulaym. One of its wells, an-Nāziya, was shared by the B. Khufāf and the *Anṣār*. 'Arrām even tells of a dispute between the *Anṣār* and the B. Khufāf over this well ('*ayn*). It had plenty of sweet water. The dispute caused the death of many people, and as a result, it was closed.

45 Cf. Conrad 1981.

46 'Arrām, p. 434, referring to a water-place on the *darb* Zubayda near Suwāriqiyya: *wa-'alayhā nukhaylāt wa-ājām yastazillu fihinna l-mārr wa-wāḥiduhā ujum, wa-hiya shabiha bi-l-quṣūr wa-ḥawālayhā ḥumūd wa-hiya li-B. Sulaym, wa-hiya 'alā ṭariq Zubayda, yad'ūhu B. Sulaym manfā(!) Zubayda*. On the *darb* Zubayda see Rāshid, *Zubayda*; Dayel and Helwa 1978; Rāshid 1978; Dayel *et al.* 1979; MacKenzie and Helwah 1980; Morgan and Helwa 1981; Helwah *et al.* 1982. Cf. Yāqūt and Bakrī, s.v. al-Munaqqā, and especially Samh. s.v.; Yāqūt, s.v. Mughār.

47 The B. Khufāf were a tribal group within the Imru'ū l-Qays branch of Sulaym, which included the B. 'Uṣayya, B. 'Amira, B. Mālik and B. Naṣira, sons of Khufāf; see below, Ch. III.

48 *Qunna*; see Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, Supplement, p. 2993.

49 'Arrām, p. 428. The editor chose as-Sawda as the name of this mountain, following Yāqūt, s.vv. as-Sawda and 'Urayfiṭān. However, Bakrī has ash-Shawra; see s.vv. ash-Shawra, III, p. 815 and s.v. Ublā, I, p. 99.

50 'Arrām, p. 429: *wa-hiya ābār yunza'u 'alayhā*, read: *yuzra'u 'alayhā*, as in Yāqūt, s.v. aṣ-Ṣa'biyya. On aṣ-Ṣa'biyya see also Yāqūt, s.v.; *Maghānim*, p. 225.

The local governor<sup>51</sup> proposed to buy it for a large sum of money, but its owners turned down the proposal.<sup>52</sup>

The Ublā mountains that included, along with other water-places, Bi'r Ma'ūna, were still known in the time of Samhūdī, who reported that they were four days' journey from Medina, between Suwāriqiyya and ar-Riḥḍiyya.<sup>53</sup> Another definition to the same effect shows Ublā to be located between al-Arḥaḍiyya (=ar-Riḥḍiyya) and Qurrān. This is inferred from Zuhri's location of Bi'r Ma'ūna. He reports that the Prophet sent an expedition to the land of the B. Sulaym. He was then in Bi'r Ma'ūna, (which is) in the bank (*juruf*) of Ublā, between al-Arḥaḍiyya and Qurrān.<sup>54</sup> We may infer that the Ublā mountains (or part of them) were between these places; it looks as if Suwāriqiyya of the former definition is replaced by Qurrān in the latter; perhaps we should look for Qurrān in the vicinity of Suwāriqiyya.<sup>55</sup> On the other hand 'Arrām mentions that opposite Ublā

51 *Sultān al-balad*, presumably in the time of 'Arrām; see Appendix B, n. 11.

52 The text in 'Arrām is: *fa-taḍārabū fa-saddūhā*, but as suggested by Jāsir 1953, pp. 597–8: *fa-taḍārrū* is preferable to both *fa-taḍārabū* in 'Arrām and *fa-taḍāddū* in Yāqūt, s.v. aṣ-Ṣa'biyya.

53 Samh., s.v. Ublā.

54 *Maghānim*, s.v. Ublā, p. 5; Yāqūt, s.v. Ublā: *ba'atha rasūlu 'llāhi ṣ. qibala arḍ B. Sulaym wa-huwa yawma'idhin bi-Bi'r Ma'ūna bi-juruf Ublā, bayna l-Arḥaḍiyya wa-Qurrān. Kadhā ḍabaṭahu Abū Nu'aym.*

55 Jāsir suggests (*Maghānim*, p. 5, n. 1; Lughda, p. 402, n. 4) that "Farān" should be read here instead of "Qurrān", Farān being the name of the *ma'din* B. Sulaym. A passage of Lughda that the *ma'din* B. Sulaym is in Qurrān seems to corroborate Jāsir's suggestion (Lughda, p. 403: *wa-bi-Qurrān ma'din yuqālu lahu ma'din B. Sulaym, ya'khudhu 'alayhi ṭariqu l-Kūfa ilā Makka*). However, Lughda mentions a mountain called Qurrān "below" (i.e., south of) Ublā. Also the persistent *qāf* in this place-name and the presumable propinquity of Qurrān to Ublā add to the difficulty. Jāsir himself mentions that near Suwāriqiyya and west of *ma'din* B. Sulaym there is a village called Qarān. See also Yāqūt, s.vv. Ublā and Qurrān. The latter entry has Qurrān between Mecca and Medina close to (*bi-liṣq*) Ublā. Samh., s.v. Qurrān has: a *wādī* between Mecca and Medina near (*ilā janb*)

in the east there is a mountain called Dhū l-Mawqa'a, which is the mountain of the *ma'din* B. Sulaym. The *ma'din* was obviously opposite Ublā in the east.<sup>56</sup> The location of Ublā between the *ma'din* and Suwāriqiyya can be deduced from the location of a water-place called al-Ghirniq. It was in Ublā, between the *ma'din* B. Sulaym and Suwāriqiyya.<sup>57</sup>

Bi'r Ma'ūna, where a fierce battle between the Prophet's companions and the B. Sulaym (aided by the B. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a) took place, was one of the water-places of the Ublā mountains. Samhūdī makes it clear that *wādī* Ma'ūna was still known in his time.<sup>58</sup> 'Arrām says that Bi'r Ma'ūna and the other water-places form one succession.<sup>59</sup>

Ublā. He also mentions that in Qurrān there is a mine called *ma'din* B. Sulaym (this may refer to another mine or it could reflect a confusion of Qurrān with Farān).

- 56 'Arrām, p. 430. On al-Mawqa'a see also Yāqūt, s.v. Mawqa'; Bakrī has al-Marqa'a in two places; see s.v., IV, p. 1215 and s.v. Ublā, I, p. 99 (*wa-ḥidhā'a Ublā min sharqiyyihā jabal yuqālu lahu Dhū l-Marqa'a, wa-huwa ma'din B. Sulaym*); cf. 'Arrām, p. 430, n. 1; *Maghānim*, pp. 22, 207.
- 57 Another definition says simply that it was in the Ḥijāz, *Maghānim*, p. 302. See also Yāqūt, s.v. al-Ghirniq (another version of this place-name was al-Ghurnūq). On the *ma'din* see also Wuhaybī, *Northern Ḥijāz*, pp. 132–4.
- 58 S.v. Bi'r Ma'ūna. As his source he mentions *amīr al-Madīna* Qusayṭil (both editions of Samh. have erroneously: Fusayṭil). He served as *amīr* between 883–7/1477–82; see on him Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfa*, III, p. 416, no. 3484 (Sakhāwī was a contemporary of Samhūdī, *Maghānim*, p. 49, n. 3).
- 59 P. 429: *wa-hiya qinān mutṭaṣila ba'duhā ilā ba'd*; *Maghānim*, s.v. Ublā, pp. 4–5, quoting 'Arrām, has: [...] *bi-ba'd*. Yāqūt, s.v. Bi'r Ma'ūna, quotes Ibn Ishāq, according to whom it was between the land of B. 'Āmir and the *ḥarrah* B. Sulaym, closer to the latter; he also quotes from Abū 'Ubayda's *Maqātil al-fursān* that Bi'r Ma'ūna was a water-place belonging to the B. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a; the same entry quotes a statement by Wāqidi, who says that it was in the land of the B. Sulaym and the land of the B. Kilāb, and that near it the event of ar-Rajī'(!) took place. This is an error, the Rajī' affair took place far from there; see below, n. 96; Samh., s.v. Bi'r Ma'ūna; *Maghānim*, p. 49, n. 4. See also Yāqūt, s.v. Ma'ūna; Ḥimiyari, *Rawḍ*, s.v. (Bi'r) Ma'ūna, p. 555; Bakrī, s.vv. (Bi'r) Ma'ūna, IV,

Although Bi'r Ma'ūna appears to have been at the very heart of the land of Sulaym, the sources usually report that it was on the border between the B. Sulaym and the B. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a.<sup>60</sup> This statement does not conform to the other evidence concerning the meeting points of the territories of these tribes; but then the other evidence may relate to a later period.

The last place mentioned by 'Arrām before his arrival at Suwāriqiyya is al-Hadabiyya, a water-place which had three wells at a distance of three miles from Suwāriqiyya. It belonged to the B. Khufāf.<sup>61</sup>

### *Sulamīs along the pilgrim roads*

A few places along the pilgrim road are mentioned in connection with Sulaym.

Ad-Dathīna/ad-Dafīna still exists, at about 23°20' and 41°59'. It is the twentieth station on the Baṣra-Mecca road and the third station from Ḍariyya on the old Baṣra pilgrims road: from Ḍariyya to al-Jadīla there are 32 miles; from al-Jadīla to Falja, 35 miles; from Falja to ad-Dafīna, 26 miles and from ad-Dafīna to Qubā (a water-place near *ḥarrat* Kushub, not to be confused with the better-known Qubā' near Medina; see map) there are 27 miles.<sup>62</sup> Some said that in the *Jāhiliyya* this place was called

pp. 1245–6; Ublā, I, p. 98; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, II, p. 36. Brockelmann (*GAL* S I, p. 167) ascribes the *Maqātil al-fursān* to Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām. He was misled by a misprint in as-Ṣuyūṭī, *Muzhir*, Cairo 1325 A.H., II, p. 276: Abū 'Ubayd instead of Abū 'Ubayda. See e.g. Yāqūt, *Udbā'*, XIX, p. 161, l. 1 from bottom; Bakrī, s.v. Ḥawra.

60 Or alternatively the B. Kilāb b. Rabī'a b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a.

61 'Arrām, p. 431; Yāqūt, s.v.; Bakrī, s.v. Ublā, I, p. 99–100; *Maghānim*, s.v., p. 433; Samh., s.v.; *Umdat al-akhbār*, p. 372. Bakrī, *loc. cit.*, who quotes 'Arrām, says that Suwāriqiyya is at a distance of three miles from 'Ayn an-Nāziya. The addition of 'Ayn an-Nāziya here is not supported by the other sources which quote 'Arrām; see especially *Maghānim*, p. 433.

62 Jāsir, *Qaṭā'i'*, no. 3, p. 187=*Manāsik*, pp. 597–600, 613; Lughda, 372. The marvellous horse of Ghani (a Qays 'Aylān tribe) called A'waj galloped, following an attack at an-Nisār,

ad-Dafina;<sup>63</sup> then they found in the name a bad omen and renamed it ad-Dathina.<sup>64</sup>

Important information on the Baṣra-Mecca road is offered by a verse of ‘Abbās b. Mirdās. The poet addresses a woman from the B. Khufāf: in the summer she lives in the ‘Aqīq and in the nomadic period she is in Wajra and al-‘Urf.<sup>65</sup> Bakrī rightly infers that al-‘Urf/al-‘Uruf was in the pastureland (*bawādī*) of the B. Khufāf. Modern al-‘Arf (see map) on the Baṣra-Mecca road seems to be identical with al-‘Urf.<sup>66</sup>

in one day until Qubā’ – a distance usually crossed in four days. The route was: Ḍariyya – Aswad al-‘Ayn – Falja – ad-Dathina, and he galloped the distance of four days before having his evening-meal. See the story in Aṣma’i, *Khayl* (Qaysi), pp. 382–3. Text: *fa-sāra bayāda yawmihi thumma amsā yata’ashshā min jamimi Qubā’a wa-bayna dhālika arba’u marāhila ka-annahu dafa’ahu min Ḍariyyata thumma atā Aswada l-‘Ayn thumma Faljata thumma d-Dathīnata wa-qad ‘adā masīrata arba’i layālin qabla an yata’ashshā*. On two water-places “behind” ad-Dafina called az-Zabbā’ and an-Naṭūf see Lughda, p. 172; cf. Yāqūt, s.vv.

63 Maydānī, *Amthāl*, II, p. 439; no. 70; Yāqūt, s.v. ad-Dathina. Cf. Qaysi 1966, p. 361: *wa-idhā ‘ndaḥanat qīla bi’r dafn wa-difān*.

64 Cf. Lughda, pp. 164–5: “We only say: ad-Dathina, and we do not say: ad-Dafina”. The statement (Yāqūt, *loc. cit*; Maydānī, *loc. cit.*) that it is a water-place of the B. Sayyār b. ‘Amr (from Fazāra) seems to be unfounded: the evidence is a verse of an-Nābigha adh-Dhubayni which may relate to another place further north, in the land of Fazāra; in addition, the reading is not certain: al-Ḥāzimī (in Yāqūt, s.v. ad-Duthayna), basing himself on the reading of al-Aṣma’i, reads this place-name in the above verse in the diminutive form and, consequently, differentiates between the two places, giving each a separate entry.

65 I. Hishām, IV, p. 107; Bakrī, s.v. ‘Uruf, III, p. 933; *Dīwān*, p. 74: *Khufāfiyyatun baṭnu l-‘Aqīqi maṣīfuḥā wa-taḥtallu fī l-bādiyati Wajrata wa-l-‘Urfā*. See also *Aghānī*, XIII, p. 65, l. 13: after the Khandaq ‘Abbās b. Mirdās was with his camels on the side of the ‘Aqīq.

66 It is not clear whether it was identical with one of the two places known as al-‘Urf *al-a’lā* and al-‘Urf *al-asfal* which were in Najd in the land of B. ‘Amr b. Kilāb, Yāqūt, s.v. al-‘Urf. The mention of a place which belonged to B. ‘Amr b. Kilāb in a verse of al-Khansā’ (who



Wajra is the twenty-first station on the Baṣra-Mecca road<sup>67</sup> and the third station after ad-Dafīna in the direction of Mecca: from ad-Dafīna to Qubā there are 27 miles; from Qubā to ash-Shubayka, 27 miles<sup>68</sup> and from ash-Shubayka to Wajra there are 40 miles. The next station after Wajra is Dhāt 'Irq, 27 miles from Wajra.<sup>69</sup> Awṭās (modern Umm Khurmān) is between Wajra and Dhāt 'Irq<sup>70</sup> and belongs to the B. Sulaym.<sup>71</sup> Other sources corroborate the link between Sulaym and Wajra: Wajra, three days from Mecca, belongs to the B. Sulaym.<sup>72</sup> According to 'Umāra b. 'Aqīl,<sup>73</sup> Wajra is a water-place belonging to Sulaym. Yāqūt quotes from as-Sukkārī: Ḥarrat Laylā,<sup>74</sup> Wajra and as-Siyy are places near Dhāt 'Irq in the land of Sulaym.<sup>75</sup>

Also Ghamra is linked to 'Abbās b. Mirdās. It was not far from Wajra but on the Kūfa pilgrim road. 'Abbās is called al-Ḥijāzī,<sup>76</sup> which is not

was from Khufāf) could indicate that al-'Urf mentioned by 'Abbās b. Mirdās was indeed in the land of the B. 'Amr b. Kilāb: she mentions in a verse a mountain called Yadhbul, part of which belonged to B. 'Amr b. Kilāb, Bakrī, s.v. Yadhbul, IV, pp. 1391–2 (it is mentioned with another mountain called Ti'ār).

67 *Manāsik*, p. 613. See also Lughda, p. 373, with corrections to the definition of Yāqūt.

68 In Jāsir, *Qaṭā'i*, no. 3, p. 187, there is a misprint: *min ad-Dafīna ilā Qubā ash-Shubayka* etc.

69 Jāsir, *Qaṭā'i*, no. 3, p. 187=*Manāsik*, pp. 600–2. On Busyān between ash-Shubayka and Wajra see Lughda, pp. 372–3.

70 Lughda, pp. 373–4.

71 Lughda, p. 405.

72 Jarīr, *Diwān*, I, p. 51.

73 Bakrī, s.v. Wajra, IV, p. 1370. On 'Umāra see Lughda, p. 14, n. 3.

74 But cf. above, n. 13.

75 S.v. Wajra. As-Sukkārī refers to a verse of Jarīr which mentions Wajra; the above reference from his *Diwān* relates to the same verse, which is also quoted in Bakrī, *loc. cit.* On a *jinnī* from Wajra see *Iṣāba*, II, p. 337, no. 2276 s.v. Khufāf b. Naḍla. He appeared to a man from Thaḳīf in his dream and was the reason for the latter's Islamization.

76 Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh*, VII, pp. 2–3, no. 2.

specific enough. Another report mentions that 'Abbās was in Ghamra, tending milch camels belonging to him.<sup>77</sup> Ghamra is on the *darb* Zubayda, 17 miles from al-Maslah (see map) in the direction of Mecca. Twenty miles separated Ghamra and Dhāt 'Irq. Ghamra is opposite Wajra, the latter being, as already mentioned, on the Başra road.<sup>78</sup> Between Ghamra and Wajra there are three parasangs (eighteen km.) and one place can be seen from the other. The pilgrims of Kūfa enter into a state of ritual consecration in the former place and those of Başra in the latter. The Kūfa and the Başra roads meet at Umm Khurmān, which is Awṭās.<sup>79</sup>

In the Islamic period we find 'Abbās b. Mirdās further east. Wāqidi<sup>80</sup> says that 'Abbās b. Mirdās did not live in Mecca or Medina. He used to go on military expeditions with the Prophet and return to the land of his tribe. (Later) he lived in the *bawādī* of Başra and visited Başra frequently. The Başrans transmitted *ḥadīth* from him. His descendants lived in the *bādiya* of Başra and some of them settled in Başra.<sup>81</sup>

77 I. 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, the volume beginning with 'Ubāda b. Awfā, p. 235. This is one of the versions about his Islamization.

78 *Manāsik*, pp. 344–5, 602; Lughda, p. 405.

79 Lughda, pp. 375–6; *Manāsik*, pp. 602, 346 (vocalised: Umm Kharmān).

80 In I. Sa'd, VII, p. 33; I. 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, the volume beginning with 'Ubāda b. Awfā, pp. 234–5.

81 See also the *Iṣāba*, III, p. 634: *wa-kāna yanzilu l-bādiya bi-nāhiyati l-Başra*. See also *Tahdhib at-tahdhib*, V, p. 130: *wa-nazala nāhiyata l-Başra*. About Abū Shajara as-Sulamī from the 'Uṣayya clan it was said: *wa-kāna yaskunu l-bādiya*, *Iṣāba*, VII, p. 202, no. 10093. Cf. concerning al-'Addā' b. Khālid from the B. 'Amr b. 'Āmir b. Rabi'a b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a (cf. I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 281): *yanzilu z-Zujayja wa-yahbiṭu ilā l-Başra*, Khalifa, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 57 (the location mentioned in n. 215 is wrong); see *Manāsik*, pp. 598–9. There are other reports about 'Abbās as well, *Tahdhib at-tahdhib*, V, p. 130, no. 227: some said that he settled in Damascus and built in it a court. Ibn al-Faqih, *Kitāb al-buldān*, p. 173, lists him among the famous horsemen who settled in Kūfa. Jubūrī, in 'Abbās b. Mirdās, *Dīwān*, pp. 18–9, doubts the last record; he adds that 'Abbās might have visited Kūfa or Damascus at some stage, but there is nothing to support this assumption. It is noteworthy that we also find the recipient of the Dafina-letter (below, Ch. VIII; he was from the B.

Further down the road to Mecca we arrive at Nakhla ash-Shāmiyya (see map) and Bustān Ibn ‘Āmir. Nakhla, to be discussed below in detail, was the site of the idol al-‘Uzzā, which, in the time of the Prophet, had Sulamī custodians. They were from the Sulamī B. ‘Abs to whom ‘Abbās b. Mirdās belonged as well. The ‘Abs were part of the Ḥārith branch. It should be noted that the Prophet’s letters to the B. ‘Abs, to be discussed below in detail, invariably mention places on the eastern slopes of the *ḥarra*. However, with few exceptions, all the evidence concerning the land of the Ḥārith branch relates to the western slopes of the *ḥarra*. East of a place called Dhara on the western slopes there were two settlements called al-Qa’r and ash-Shar‘, both located along *wādī* Rakhīm. Each of them<sup>82</sup> had fields (*mazāri*) and dates watered by wells (*‘alā ‘uyūn*). ‘Arrām reports as well that the two settlements are “eastern”, which probably indicates that they are on *wādīs* draining eastward. Indeed, ash-Shar‘ (and probably al-Qa’r as well) was near Ṣufayna (see map). Naṣr al-Iskanadarānī<sup>83</sup> says that Shar‘ is a water-place near Ṣufayna belonging to the B. al-Ḥārith from Sulaym.<sup>84</sup>

### *Sulamīs north of Medina*

A problematic passage of Hamdānī states that the land of Sulaym extends

Ri’l) in Baṣra. The entries on him mention him as one of the “Bedouin of Baṣra”, *A’rāb al-Baṣra*.

82 *Wa-fī kulli wāhida min hādhihi l-qurā*; the plural form may indicate that what follows applies to other settlements mentioned there; but it is more likely that it is merely imprecise language.

83 In Yāqūt, s.v. Shar‘.

84 As it is less likely that the name Rakhīm applies to two *wādīs*, one draining eastwards the other draining westwards. Ḍar‘ā, which was in the lower part of that *wādī*, should be looked for in the vicinity of Ṣufayna as well. Bakri, II, p. 612, says (quoting as-Sakūnī) that east of Dhara there are settlements, one of which was called al-Qa’rā, in a *wādī* called Rukhyam; Yāqūt, s.v. al-Qa’r has: [...] *wa-fī kulli hādhihi l-qurā mazāri*’ etc., whereas ‘Arrām says: *fī kulli wāhida min hādhihi l-qurā*.

between Wādī al-Qurā, Khaybar, the area east of Medina, the “two mountains” (i.e., Aja’ and Salmā, the two mountains of Ṭay’) and the *ḥarra*. With them in this vast territory there was only a party of the *Anṣār* who were nomadic; sometimes they (the *Anṣār*; and the pronoun could refer to Sulaym) camped together with Ṭay’.<sup>85</sup> Khaybar is mentioned as a boundary also by Ibn Khaldūn:<sup>86</sup> the land of Sulaym was in the ‘*āliya* of Najd, in the west (i.e., the west of Najd) and Khaybar. In it were the *ḥarrat* B. Sulaym and *ḥarrat an-nār*, between Wādī l-Qurā and Taymā’. Ibn Khaldūn adds that in his time they have no power and no surviving descendants in their (original) homeland.<sup>87</sup> Neither passage conforms to the bulk of the evidence concerning the land of Sulaym in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times. However, we may have to allow for the possibility that some members or small groups of Sulaym lived north of Medina. A Sulamī companion of the Prophet called al-Khīrbāq (or Khīrbāq) is referred to as Ḥijāzī.<sup>88</sup> He lived (or camped, *kāna yanzilu*) in Dhū Khushub north of Medina.<sup>89</sup> This piece of evidence, which relates to a *wādī* at a distance of one day’s journey north of Medina on the road to Wādī al-Qurā<sup>90</sup> is, for the time being, isolated.<sup>91</sup>

85 *Ṣiḥā*, p. 274: [...] *lā yukhālīṭuhum illā ṣirm mina l-anṣār sayyāra wa-qad yuḥāllūna Ṭay’an*. See also Kaḥḥāla, *Qabā’il*, II, p. 543. Cf. perhaps the conflicting definitions of Umm Ṣabbār (above, n. 13): if the surroundings of Khaybar were ever part of the Sulamī territory, it could explain why the *ḥarra* of Khaybar could sometimes be referred to as the *ḥarrat* B. Sulaym.

86 *Tbar*, II, p. 309, l. 6.

87 *Wa-laysa lahumu l-’āna ‘adad wa-lā baqiyya fī bilādihim*. Note that Ibn Khaldūn may be relying on Hamdānī.

88 *Isti’āb*, II, p. 475, no. 724; p. 457–8, no. 688 (he had long hands, hence his nickname *Dhū l-yadaynī*).

89 *Uṣd al-ghāba*, II, p. 145. *Tāj al-’arūs*, s.v. *Kharbāq*, mentions another version: his name is ‘Umayr b. ‘Amr b. Naḍla as-Sulamī.

90 *Manāsik*, pp. 651.

91 Donner, *Conquests*, p. 44, mentions the “campaigns into the territory of the B. Sulaym and B. Judhām in the northern Ḥijāz” carried out by Ghassān. It may not be superfluous

*The western slopes of the ḥarra*

Several localities on the western slopes of the *ḥarra* are specifically linked with Sulaym. Dhara, sometimes called Dharwa, is the name of low mountains touching upon each other and on the slopes of which<sup>92</sup> are arable land and villages belonging to the B. al-Ḥārith b. Buhtha b. Sulaym. Their agriculture is based on rain-water.<sup>93</sup> In the mountains there are some sedentaries, but most of the inhabitants (i.e., in the time of ‘Arrām) are tent-dwellers. They have wells in rocks, the water of which they are unable to bring to where they can benefit from them. The mountains touch upon *wādī* Khalṣ Āra or, as another source reports, al-Qudsayni.<sup>94</sup>

Ruhāt, which at some point in time gave its name to part of the *ḥarrat* B. Sulaym, is also linked with the B. al-Ḥārith.<sup>95</sup> Ruhāt is close to ar-Rajī‘, where the companions of the Prophet were attacked by the B. Liḥyān from Hudhayl. They were attacked at a water-place of Hudhayl in *wādī* Ghurān, northwest of Mecca (see map). After the siege of B. Qurayza, the Prophet himself reached the *wādī* of Ghurān, as he wished to attack the B. Liḥyān and avenge the death of his companions in ar-Rajī‘. Then he went to

to remark that the territories of the two tribes were far apart. Nöldeke, *Ġafna*, p. 37, correctly locates al-Atm in the heart of the land of Sulaym northeast of Mecca. Cf. Oppenheim, *Beduinen*, III, p. 7.

92 *Fī dharāhā*, literally: “in the shelter of which”.

93 *Wa-zurū’uhum a’dhā’*, “and they call the *a’dhā’* - *al-‘atharī*, meaning: that which is not watered”.

94 ‘Arrām, p. 407: [...] *wa-hiya jibāl kathīra muttaṣila ḍa‘āḍi’ laysat bi-shawāmikh, fī dharāhā l-mazārī’u wa-l-qurā wa-hiya li-B. al-Ḥārith b. Buhtha b. Sulaym. Wa-zurū’uhā a’dhā’ wa-yusammūna l-a’dhā’ l-‘atharī, wa-huwa lladhī lā yusqā. Wa-fihā madar wa-aktharuhā ‘amūd, wa-lahum ‘uyūn mā’ fī ṣukhūr lā yumkinuhum an yujrūhā ilā ḥaythu yantafī’ūna bihi*. On pp. 407–8 ‘Arrām mentions several kinds of trees which grow there. See also Yāqūt, s.v. Dhara; Bakri, s.v. Dharwa.

95 One report tells that the Prophet had been near Dhāt ‘Irq but had not entered it, then he went to Ruhāt, *Manāsik*, p. 349.

‘Uṣfān (see map).<sup>96</sup> Another place in this vicinity was al-Hadda (see map: Haddat ash-Shām).<sup>97</sup> There the Prophet was joined by a unit from the B. al-Ḥārith when he marched on Mecca. Ar-Rajī‘ is seven miles from al-Had’a (al-Hadda) and al-Hadda is seven miles from ‘Aqabat ‘Uṣfān or, according to another report, from ‘Uṣfān itself.<sup>98</sup> Other definitions concerning the location of Ghurān mention other places in its vicinity. Ibn Ishāq says that Ghurān is a *wādī* between Amaj and ‘Uṣfān which reaches a locality called Sāya. It belongs to the B. Liḥyān from Hudhayl.<sup>99</sup> Al-Aṣma‘ī says that Ghurān is in the territory of Hudhayl, in ‘Uṣfān.<sup>100</sup>

96 Bakri, III, p. 993; I. Hishām, III, p. 292; Wāqidi, II, p. 536 (*ḥattā ‘ntahā ilā baṭn Ghurān ḥaythu kāna muṣābuhum*). The assumption of the editor in the last-mentioned source, that the people killed at Bi’r Ma’ūna are meant here, is erroneous. ‘Ātiq b. Ghayth al-Ḥarbi locates *wādī* Ghurān six km. north of ‘Uṣfān. Its upper part, he says, is called Ruhāt and further downstream it is known as al-Barza; see *al-‘Arab* (Riyād) VI,iv(December 1971), p. 310–1.

97 Wāqidi, I, p. 355: *fa-kharajū ḥattā idhā kānū bi-mā’ li-Hudhayl yuqālu lahu r-Rajī’ qarib mina l-Hadda*. To the place-name al-Hadda cf. perhaps ‘Abbās 1973–7, pp. 32–4. The place was also called al-Had’a or al-Hada; see below.

98 Wāqidi, I, p. 43; Mas’ūdi, *Tanbih*, p. 246. Jāsir remarks (*Maghānim*, p. 153, n. 1) that the author of *Maghānim*, Firūzābādī, follows Yāqūt in his wrong location of ar-Rajī’ between Mecca and Ṭā’if; it is close to al-Hadda, which is close to ‘Uṣfān. In the present-day the place is called Haddat ash-Shām, near Ruhāt and ‘Uṣfān, and between these places and Marr az-Zahrān (*wādī* Fāṭima; see map). See also *Maghānim*, p. 49, n. 4. On Marr az-Zahrān (Baṭn Marr) see also Wuhaybī, *Northern Hijāz*, pp. 151–6. Al-Hadda/al-Had’a was also called al-Hada. In s.v. al-Hada Yāqūt says that it is north of (*bi-a’lā*) Marr az-Zahrān and in s.v. al-Had’a the same author says that it is a place between ‘Uṣfān and Mecca. See also Bakri, s.v. al-Had’a, IV, p. 1347, where the story of ar-Rajī’ is recorded, and s.v. ar-Rajī’, II, pp. 641–2, where it is defined as a water-place of the B. Liḥyān between Mecca and ‘Uṣfān, at the upper part of al-Had’a (*min ṣadri l-Had’a*; this indicates that al-Had’a was also a name of a *wādī*).

99 I. Hishām, III, p. 292; Bakri, III, p. 993.

100 Bakri, III, p. 992. The same source also has another definition: Ghurān is a place in the vicinity of ‘Uṣfān inhabited by the B. Surāqa b. Mu’tamir from the B. ‘Adi b. Ka’b, who

Further evidence on the presence of the Ḥārith in this area is adduced in Ch. II below.

*The beginning of the Sulamī presence on the western slopes*

Ad-Dafīna is mentioned in a letter, of the Prophet to a tribal leader from the Sulamī B. Ri'l.<sup>101</sup> The unique version of this letter adduced by Ibn Manda,<sup>102</sup> mentions, in addition to ad-Dafīna, also as-Sitāra and al-Uthayliyya.<sup>103</sup> As-Sitāra (see map), or al-Istāra (now called: Sitāra, without the article), is the upper part of the *wādī* Qudayd (see map) on the western slopes of the *ḥarrat* Ruhāt. It is inhabited by Sulaym to the present-day and one of the settlements along it is called Sulaym (see map).<sup>104</sup> Jāsir describes Sitāra in great detail.<sup>105</sup> He refers to a piece of

have many estates there. Surāqa, a companion of the Prophet, was from the Qurashī clan of 'Adi b. Ka'b; see *Iṣāba*, III, p. 43, no. 3120. Ruhāt appears in a difficult passage in 'Arrām. He says that the mountain Shamaṣīr (which is touching upon the *ḥarra* and is still known to our time, *Manāsik*, p. 460, n. 2) is "surrounded" by a big settlement called Ruhāt, located in a *wādī* called Ghurān: *wa-yuṭīfu bi-Shamaṣīr mina l-qurā qarya kabira yuqālu lahā Ruhāt*. The verb *aṭāf* is also used elsewhere by 'Arrām in connection with Dhara: *wa-yuṭīfu bi-Dhara qarya mina l-qurā yuqālu lahā Jabala fī gharbiyyihi wa-s-Sitāra, qarya tattaṣilu bi-Jabala*. Cf. Bakrī, s.v. Shamaṣīr, III, p. 810, which is slightly different: *wa-bi-ṭaraf Shamaṣīr qarya yuqālu lahā Ruhāt wa-hiya bi-wādin yusammā Ghurāban*; read: Ghurānan. The unusual *wa-yuṭīfu* should perhaps be replaced with *bi-ṭanaf*; see Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.v.: "A ḥayd [or ledge] of a mountain; ... a portion projecting therefrom, resembling a wing".

101 See below, Ch. VIII.

102 Jāsir, *Qaṭā'i'*, no. 3, p. 184.

103 Misprinted: Uthaliyya.

104 See the remarks of 'Atiq b. Ghayth al-Ḥarbi in *al-'Arab* (Riyād) VI,iv(December 1971), p. 312; Jāsir, *Mu'jam jughrāfi*, I, p. 565. The link between Sitāra and Qudayd is reflected in the reports on the *umm walad* of Yazid b. 'Abdallah b. Zam'a (cf. Bakrī, III, p. 723, n. 3; I. Kalbi, *Jamh.*, fol. 25b, l. 7) who was from Ṣughd or from Khurāsān; see Ḥimyari, *Rawḍ*, p. 362; Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, p. 222; Bakrī, *loc. cit.*

105 *Qaṭā'i'*, no. 3, pp. 188–91.

evidence which he believes relates to the beginning of the Sulamī presence on the western slopes of the *ḥarrat* B. Sulaym.<sup>106</sup> An otherwise unknown Sulamī group called B. al-Ghazāla or, in another version: al-‘Arāba<sup>107</sup> from the B. Bahz, had killed a member of their own clan. They broke away from the clan, travelled in the *ḥarra*, camped with Abū Julayd al-Khuzā‘ī and became his confederates. His *manzil* was in as-Sitāra. The report goes on to tell us how the son of Abū Julayd defended them against their clan and undertook to pay the blood-money on their behalf. A few decades later, in the time of ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān, this group wished to free itself from the link with Ibn Abī Julayd (who, one may assume, had taken over the commitments of his father). The exact date in which this alliance had been concluded was of importance: ‘Uthmān decreed that every alliance concluded when the Prophet was still in Mecca (i.e., before the *hijra*) is *Jāhili* (and therefore remains unchanged). So we learn that the arrival of this Sulamī group at as-Sitāra took place when the Prophet was still in Mecca, before the *hijra*. Jāsir concludes that this report indicates the beginning of the move of part of Sulaym to the areas which they now inhabit. Around the third century A.H., he says, they reached the peak of their expansion in these areas; in the meantime many clans remained in their old territory, as reflected in the *Risāla* of ‘Arrām and other sources.<sup>108</sup>

Perhaps we should allow for the possibility that the Sulamī presence on the western slopes of the *ḥarra* goes back even earlier. The evidence is admittedly meagre. It seems to be no coincidence that of all Sulamīs, it was a Bahzī called Yazīd (or Zayd) b. Ka‘b who reportedly hunted a wild ass at ar-Rawḥā’ west of Medina.<sup>109</sup> In addition, there is a record on a

106 *Qaṭā’i*, no. 1, p. 3=I. Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, p. 316–8, quoting ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Imrān az-Zuhri (known as Ibn Abi Thābit; see on him *Tahdhib at-tahdhib*, VI, pp. 350–1, no. 671); *Iṣāba*, s.v. ‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Julayd al-Khuzā‘ī *thumma* al-Ḥimyari, V, pp. 128–9, no. 6433, quoting ‘Umar b. Shabba, *Kitāb Makka*.

107 Not in I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 160b–161a.

108 See on these places also below, Ch. VIII, n. 85.

109 See the entries on Yazīd b. Ka‘b in the *Iṣāba*, VI, pp. 719–20, no. 9458; *Isti‘āb*, IV,



Sulamī attack on Hudhayl under the command of a Bahzī which took place not far from Waddān.<sup>110</sup>

Some of the pre-Islamic *ayyām* of Sulaym against Ghaṭafān, Kināna and Hudhayl were fought, as we shall see, on the western slopes of the *ḥarra*. They seem to indicate that at least a few decades before the Islamic era, Sulaym applied military pressure on the inhabitants of that area. In addition, already before Islam, Sulaym had links with Khuzā'a, Kināna, Muzayna and Hudhayl whose land, or part of whose land, was in the same area.

As for Khuzā'a, apart from the above record on the B. al-Ghazāla from Bahz there are two records: the brother of 'Abbās b. Mirdās, Huraym, was under the protection of a Khuzā'ī and was killed by another Khuzā'ī;<sup>111</sup> a vague affair in which the groups of 'Abd b. Ḥabtar and Ḥabīb b. Ḥabtar from Khuzā'a<sup>112</sup> were involved is mentioned in verses of 'Abbās b. Mirdās.<sup>113</sup>

Concerning the *yawm* al-Kadīd between Sulaym and Kināna, there is mention of an Aslamī (i.e., Khuzā'ī) confederate of Sulaym who, according to one version, killed Rabī'a b. Mukaddam on that day.<sup>114</sup> Admittedly, both records relate to individuals and do not imply an old or lasting relationship.

As for Kināna, the evidence is more weighty. Regarding the B. Layth b. Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt from Kināna there is a combination of a

p. 1579, no. 2792; *Uṣd al-ghāba*, V, p. 119. Cf. *Iṣāba*, s.v. 'Umayr b. Salama aḍ-Ḍamrī, IV, pp. 719–20, no. 6042. The fuller version found in Aḥmad, III, p. 452, does not mention the Bahzī's name; it mentions another place further down the road to Mecca: al-Athāya, not far from al-Jiyy (which appears in the modern maps as: *wādī* al-Jayy); see *Manāsik*, pp. 444f (ar-Rawḥā'), 447f (al-Athāya). See also Ḥāzimi, 'Ujāla, s.v. al-Bahzī, p. 28.

110 See below, Ch. VII, n. 71.

111 *Aghānī*, XIII, pp. 68–9; cf. Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, I, p. 160.

112 Cf. I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 237.

113 *Diwān*, pp. 44–5=Marzūqī, *Sharḥ ḥamāsa*, I, pp. 437–9; Qāli, *Simṭ*, I, p. 33.

114 I. Kalbi, *Khayl*, pp. 28–9.

genealogical record and a geographical record. Layth b. Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt begot 'Āmir, whose mother was Salmā bint al-Ḥārith b. Buhthā.<sup>115</sup> This record clearly indicates the existence of a link between Layth and the Ḥārith branch. Indeed, a meeting place of Layth and the B. Ḥārith branch is provided in the information about a mountain called ash-Sharāt: it is a high mountain, sheltering monkeys, which belongs to the B. Layth and the B. Ḥārith from Sulaym. It is before 'Uṣfān (presumably: to the north of 'Uṣfān, to judge from the direction of 'Arrām's description) to its left.<sup>116</sup> It is noteworthy that the *yawm* al-Kadīd between Sulaym and Kināna was fought in that very area.<sup>117</sup> The link between the Ḥārith and the Layth must date back to pre-Islamic times. The above genealogical record, that concerns the eponyms of both Ḥārith and Layth, is a reflection of this link.<sup>118</sup>

Also the link between Sulaym and Muzayna dates back to pre-Islamic times. The meeting-points were near Medina and on the western slopes of the *ḥarra*. As for the latter area, it is reported that Shamaṣīr is a mountain in Sāya, which is a large *wādī* (Sāya was also the name of a village) inhabited by Muzayna and Sulaym. Shamaṣīr and *wādī* Sāya, which is also called *wādī* Amaj, are still known to the present-day. There is no doubt that other tribes owned lands in *wādī* Sāya too, notably Hudhayl, whose poets mention it in their poetry.<sup>119</sup> There are two

115 I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 39a.

116 'Arrām, p. 413; Samh., s.v. ash-Sharāt; *Maghānim*, p. 212 (Jāsir: *min nawāḥi Makka*). Bakrī, III, p. 786 has: Sharā'. Cf. the evidence on cohabitation of Kilāb b. Umayya from Layth and Sulaym in Baṣra, Jumāḥī, I, p. 191 (*wa-khiṭṭatu Kilāb bi-l-Baṣra, fī B. Sulaym, yuqālu lahā murabba'ata Kilāb*).

117 There was a marriage link between the father of 'Amr b. 'Abasa from Bajla (Mālik b. Tha'laba b. Buhthā; see on them below) and a woman from another Kinānī clan, namely Ghifār: 'Amr was a half-brother of Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī, his mother being Ramla bint al-Waqī'a b. Ḥarām b. Ghifār, Khalifa, *Ṭabaqāt*, pp. 49, 302.

118 Unfortunately tools for interpreting the genealogical information have not yet been developed.

119 Bakrī, s.v. Shamaṣīr, III, p. 811 (Ibn al-A'rābi); Yāqūt, Bakrī, Samh., s.v. Sāya; *Maghānim*, s.vv. Shamaṣīr and Sāya; 'Arrām, pp. 413–4.

indications that the Sulamīs involved were from the Ḥārith branch. Firstly, the nearby ash-Sharāt mountain was inhabited,<sup>120</sup> as already mentioned, by the B. Zafar from the Ḥārith branch (and the Layth from Kināna). Secondly, Sāya was near Ghurān, the site of the idol Suwā', the custodians of which were from another of the Ḥārith clans, the B. Ka'b: the village called Sāya is mentioned in connection with the fruitless expedition led by the Prophet in 6 A.H. against the B. Liḥyān from Hudhayl. While the report in Wāqidī mentions only that the Prophet reached the *wādī* Ghurān, where his companions had been attacked treacherously in the Rajī' affair, the report found in Ibn Hishām is more specific: he camped in Ghurān, which is the territory of the B. Liḥyān – and Ghurān, this source adds, is a *wādī* between Amaj and 'Uṣfān – near a village called Sāya.<sup>121</sup>

The meeting-point between Sulaym and Muzayna in the vicinity of Medina and on the northwestern slopes of the *ḥarra* was the 'Aqīq and the Naqī' south of Medina. The link goes back to pre-Islamic times. The evidence relates to clans from the Imru'ū l-Qays branch. A dated piece of evidence comes from the 37th chapter in Samhūdī's book which deals with two unrelated topics: the *manāzil* of the tribes who were *Muhājirūn* (in the time of the Prophet) and the erection of the wall of Medina. The first part,<sup>122</sup> which is based on 'Umar b. Shabba (and possibly taken from his *Akḥbār al-Madīna*) includes a reference to Sulaym as well.<sup>123</sup> The B. Sulaym did not have a *maḥalla* of their own, and camped in the *maḥalla* of Muzayna. In the same *maḥalla* there were also the B. Shayṭān b. Yarbū' from the B. Naṣr (from Hawāzin) and the B. 'Adwān b. 'Amr b. Qays 'Aylān. "These were those who camped with Muzayna", says the report, "and they were mixed with each other (i.e., their genealogies eventually mixed). They camped together because their territory in the *bādiya* was the same" (*wa-dakhala ba'dhum fī ba'dīn, wa-innamā nazalū jamī'an li-anna dārahum fī l-bādiya wāḥida*).

120 'Arrām, p. 413.

121 Wāqidī, II, p. 536; I. Hishām, III, p. 292; Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, II, p. 595.

122 Samh., I, pp. 757–65.

123 Pp. 761–2.

Finally, Hudhayl. With one exception, the evidence concerning links with Hudhayl relates to the Ḥārith branch. The exception is the above-mentioned raid of Bahz on Hudayhl near Waddān.<sup>124</sup>

The custodians of the idol Suwā' in *wādī* Ghurān – which was worshipped by the B. Ṣafar from the Ḥārith as well as by the B. Hudhayl – were from the former.<sup>125</sup> In addition, the Ṣafar were engaged in skirmishes with Hudhayl. The B. Ṣafar were the neighbours of the strongest group among the descendants of Sa'd b. Hudhayl, namely the B. Mu'āwiya or at least of one of their clans called B. Qird (to whom the poet Abū Khirāsh belonged).<sup>126</sup> There was a marriage link between Ṣafar and Qird.<sup>127</sup> The B. Ṣafar are mentioned in connection with the joint Sulamī-Qurashī agricultural project at al-Qurayya, supposedly located in the same area.<sup>128</sup>

On the basis of the above evidence, most of which relates, admittedly, to the Ḥārith branch, it is safe to conclude that the Sulamī presence on the western slopes of the *ḥarra* dates back to pre-Islamic times.

### *Sulaym and other tribes*

Sulaym were part of the Qays 'Aylān group. There is no wonder that their links with Qays 'Aylān tribes were stronger than their links with other tribes, though naturally some Qays 'Aylān tribes were closer than others and there is even evidence of hostility between Sulaym and another Qays 'Aylān tribe, the Ghaṭafān. The territories of the Qays 'Aylān tribes seem to have been contiguous. The solidarity of these tribes formed the

124 In the genealogical literature the Bahz are, it is true, part of the Imru'u l-Qays branch; however, there is an indication that they (or part of them) belonged at some time to the Ḥārith branch; see below, Ch. III.

125 Samh., s.v. Ruhāt.

126 Bakrī, s.v. Anf, I, p. 201–3; I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 197.

127 Bakrī, p. 202.

128 See below, Ch. VI, n. 136.

necessary foundation for military cooperation. Of course the tribes and clans had to decide, on an *ad hoc* basis, on each expedition.

The tribes of Qays are described figuratively as the three *athāfi l-'arab*, "the stones supporting a cooking pot". The "stones" were: 1. Sulaym and Hawāzin, sons of Maṣṣūr b. 'Ikrima b. Khaṣafa b. Qays 'Aylān b. Muḍar; 2. Ghaṭafān (b. Sa'd b. Qays 'Aylān); and 3. A'ṣur (b. Sa'd b. Qays 'Aylān=Ghanī and Bāhila) and Muḥārib son of Khaṣafa (b. Qays 'Aylān).<sup>129</sup> This expression reflects a degree of cooperation between the components of Qays 'Aylān, especially between the pairs Sulaym and Hawāzin, A'ṣur and Muḥārib.<sup>130</sup>

### *Sulaym and Hawāzin*

The Hawāzin were the closest allies of Sulaym. With the exception of one record of a Sulamī branch called Tha'laba (mentioned here for the first time), the evidence relates to the Ḥārith and Imru'u l-Qays branches. Military cooperation between Sulaym and Hawāzin against Ghaṭafān is commemorated in verses of Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā.<sup>131</sup> The following groups are mentioned specifically: Āl Imri'i l-Qays (i.e., the Imru'u l-Qays branch),<sup>132</sup> Sulaym (*sic*), mixed groups (*afnā'*) of 'Āmir (i.e., 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a), Sa'd b. Bakr, the Nuṣūr and A'ṣur. Sa'd b. Bakr b. Hawāzin are the "uncles" of the Nuṣūr, i.e., the B. Naṣr b. Mu'āwiya b. Bakr b. Hawāzin and A'ṣur b. Qays 'Aylān are, as Tha'lab interprets, the Ghanī and Bāhila.

129 I. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, pp. 234–5; Tha'ālibī, *Thimār*, p. 161, no. 225 (omitting A'ṣur and remarking concerning Muḥārib: *wa-hiya al'amuhā*).

130 And cf. the expression *Sulaym wa-'Āmir* (i.e., 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a, who were part of Hawāzin), Jāḥiẓ, *Hayawān*, V, p. 522. The context indicates that Sulaym was the less important component. For a joint settlement of clans from Qays in Egypt see Azdi, *Mawṣil*, pp. 30–1 (in 111 A.H.); Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, I, pp. 335–6 (in 109 A.H.).

131 *Dīwān*, p. 213.

132 The interpretation of Tha'lab (*loc. cit.*), that it relates to Hawāzin and Sulaym, is unclear to me.

The evidence concerning the participants in the series of battles known as the Fijār wars is usually insufficient. However, there is evidence of the participation of Sulaym in the second battle of the “second Fijār”, namely the *yawm* Shamṭa<sup>133</sup> and the fourth battle, the *yawm* Sharib.<sup>134</sup> It is likely that Sulaym were part of Hawāzin in the other Fijār battles too. The report on the battle of Shamṭa includes some information on the tribal units involved.<sup>135</sup> The tribes on both sides, the Quraysh/Kināna and the Hawāzin, fought as separate units, each under its own flag.<sup>136</sup> On the Hawāzin side the following units are listed: 1. The B. Naṣr b. Mu‘āwiya; 2. The B. Jusham and Sa‘d, sons of Bakr; 3. Thaqīf; 4. ‘Āmir b. Rabī‘a and their allies from the B. Jasn b. Muḥarib; 5. The B. Hilāl b. ‘Āmir b. Ṣaṣa‘a. There is no clue as to which of these included the participants from Sulaym. Sulaym and Hawāzin also fought against Madhḥij and Quḍā‘a.<sup>137</sup>

The most prominent case of Sulaym-‘Āmir b. Ṣaṣa‘a cooperation in the time of the Prophet is, of course, the battle of Bi‘r Ma‘ūna. The close association and military cooperation between Sulaym and ‘Āmir b. Ṣaṣa‘a in the Umayyad period, reflected by the frequent mention of Sulaym and ‘Āmir,<sup>138</sup> has its roots in the pre-Islamic period.

There was limited cooperation between Sulaym and Hawāzin in the battle of Ḥunayn. While most of the Sulamī force was on the Prophet’s

133 According to the *‘Iqd*, V, p. 256, l. 11: *wa-jama‘at Sulaym wa-Hawāzin jumū‘ahā wa-aḥlāfahā*; note, however, that the *Aghānī* (XIX, p. 77, l. 5) omits Sulaym: *wa-jama‘at Hawāzin wa-kharajat*.

134 *‘Iqd*, V, p. 258, l. 11; *Aghānī*, XIX, p. 80, ll. 9, 12, 23.

135 *Aghānī*, XIX, p. 77.

136 *Aghānī*, p. 77, ll. 7, 20: *wa-kāna l-qawm jamī‘an mutasānidīna, ‘alā kullī qabila sayyiduhum [...] fa-kānat Hawāzin mutasānidīna ka-dhālika*. See also I. Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, p. 201.

137 ‘Abbās b. Mirdās, *Dīwān*, p. 134; Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, I, p. 227. See below, n. 238.

138 E.g. *Aghānī*, XI, pp. 61, l. 14; Akḥṭal, *Dīwān*, I, pp. 181, 191; *Naqā‘id Jarīr wa-l-Akhṭal*, pp. 26, 32, 34; Jumaḥī, I, p. 478, no. 656. In Jarīr, *Dīwān*, I, p. 98, the ‘Āmir b. Kilāb are specifically mentioned, but ‘Āmir are usually the ‘Āmir b. Ṣaṣa‘a.

side, a Sulamī tribal leader called Abū l-A'war (from the Tha'laba branch) fought on the side of the pagans under the command of Mālik b. 'Awf an-Naṣrī and embraced Islam only later.<sup>139</sup>

Further pieces of evidence relate to different Hawāzin clans, namely Jusham, Zurayq and Naṣr, sons of Mu'āwiya b. Bakr b. Hawāzin. The frustrated marriage proposal of Durayd b. aṣ-Ṣimma to al-Khansā' from the Sharīd family should be combined with the report that it was Durayd b. aṣ-Ṣimma who avenged the death of Mu'āwiya b. 'Amr b. aṣh-Sharīd by killing Hāshim b. Ḥarmala of the B. Murra (Murra Ghatafān).<sup>140</sup> Durayd was from the Jusham b. Mu'āwiya b. Bakr b. Hawāzin.<sup>141</sup> Durayd, together with the leader (*ra's*) of Hawāzin Mālik b. 'Awf who was from the brother clan B. Naṣr b. Mu'āwiya, intervened to stop the internecine strife between the two Sulamī leaders 'Abbās b. Mirdās and Khufāf b. Nudba. Durayd accused them of "cutting off one of the hands of Hawāzin".<sup>142</sup>

Other records relate to clans from the Ḥārith branch. There is an exceptionally long story on the cooperation between a somewhat eccentric brigand (*fātik*) from the B. Zafar (of the Ḥārith branch), Thumāma b. al-Mustanīr, and a fellow-brigand from the B. Jusham<sup>143</sup> called Mu'āwiya b. al-Ḥārith.<sup>144</sup> The story makes it clear that the territories of these tribes were adjacent. On the eponymous level there is a record of a marriage link: Fāṭima bint al-Ḥārith b. Buhtha was married to a person from the B. Jaḥwash b. Mu'āwiya b. Bakr b. Hawāzin.<sup>145</sup>

139 *Iṣāba*, IV, p. 641. Evidence of military cooperation between Sulaym and Kilāb b. Rabī'a b. 'Amir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a will be recorded below.

140 Ḥuṣārī, *Zahr*, II, p. 930. Cf. I. Qutayba, *Uyūn al-akhbār*, IV, p. 46.

141 But perhaps we should prefer another version, which names another, less well-known, Jushamī as the killer of Hāshim, *Aghānī*, XIII, p. 146 (Qays b. al-Amrār al-Jushamī); Caskel 1931, 40 (wrong page number); *Iqd*, V, p. 166 ('Amr b. Qays al-Jushamī).

142 I. Qutayba, *Shi'r*, II, p. 746; *Aghānī*, XVI, p. 141, l. 14.

143 The clan of Durayd b. aṣ-Ṣimma; see his verses in *Muḥabbar*, pp. 211–2.

144 I. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, pp. 192, 206–212.

145 Balādh., *Ansāb*, I, p. 532, no. 1071; Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, p. 343, l. 16; I. Kalbi, *Jamh.*, fol. 153a-b; I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 270, l. 16 (read: Jaḥwash instead of al-Ḥārith).

Among the sons of Rifā'a b. al-Ḥārith Ibn al-Kalbī<sup>146</sup> mentions one called Bujayr, "and they (i.e., his descendants) are in the B. Zurayq b. Mu'āwiya b. Bakr b. Hawāzin". At a certain point in time, fighting took place between Sulaym and the B. Naṣr b. Mu'āwiya.<sup>147</sup> The B. Naṣr raided the territory of Sulaym (*aghārat* [...] *'alā nāḥiya min arḍ B. Sulaym*). When this became known to 'Abbās b. Mirdās, he led a party from his tribe, attacked the raiders and killed many of them. He captured thirty Naṣrīs, whom he later released without ransom; however, one of his horses which had been captured by the commander of the Naṣrīs was not returned. On the other hand, it was a Naṣrī who avenged the killing of 'Abbās b. Mirdās' brother Huraym by a Khuzā'ī.<sup>148</sup>

The rich geographical evidence on the territories of Sulaym and different clans from 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a refers to a few meeting-points between the tribes. Firstly, the clans of Kilāb and 'Āmir, sons b. Rabī'a b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a.

The area of Haḍb al-Qalīb in Najd belonged to the B. 'Amr b. 'Abdallah b. Kilāb and part of it belonged to the B. Sulaym;<sup>149</sup> it was the half-way point<sup>150</sup> between 'Āmir (i.e., 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a or 'Āmir b. Rabī'a b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a) and Sulaym, a barrier (*ḥājiz*) between these two tribes. The Qalīb was a well belonging to Sulaym.<sup>151</sup> The border point between the territory of B. Kilāb and that of Sulaym along the Baṣra-Mecca road, southwest of Ḍariyya, is made clear by Lughda's description: east of

146 *Jamh.*, fol. 161a.

147 *Aghānī*, XIII, pp. 69–70; 'Abbās b. Mirdās, *Dīwān*, pp. 135, 122=Qudāma, *Naqd ash-shi'r*, p. 47 (read: Naṣr instead of Naḍr).

148 *Aghānī*, XIII, p. 69, l. 8.

149 By which the B. Qunfudh are meant; see below, Ch. III, n. 95. I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 128b does not mention 'Amr among the descendants of 'Abdallah b. Kilāb.

150 *Naṣaf*. Cf. *manṣif* used to denote the middle of the road (between Mecca and Baṣra), Lughda, p. 341. And cf. below, Ch. V, the end of n. 30.

151 Lughda, pp. 141–2; Yāqūt, s.v. Haḍb al-Qalīb. Yāqūt also quotes a report in which Haḍb al-Qalīb is one of the water-places of the B. Wabr b. al-Aḍbaṭ (=Ka'b) b. Kilāb.



ad-Dathīna there is a mine belonging to Kilāb called al-Aḥsan, then there is a water-place of Kilāb called al-‘Ulkūma (Lughda is not certain about the name) then ad-Dathīna.<sup>152</sup> The *Manāsik* reports that the sixteenth station on the Baṣra-Mecca road was Ḍariyya, which belonged to the B. Kilāb, and the seventeenth was al-Abraqāni. The same source reports that al-Abraqāni lies between the lands of Kilāb, Sulaym, Fazāra and ‘Āmir b. Rabī’a (b. ‘Āmir b. Ṣaṣa’a). The tribes do not inhabit it and every vagabond seeks shelter there.<sup>153</sup> This record and other similar records adduced above indicate that the tribes usually had well-defined territories.

Solid evidence on the propinquity of clans from Sulaym and ‘Āmir can be derived from letters of the Prophet which relate to an area further down the road to Mecca, between Falja and ad-Dathīna, the nineteenth and the twentieth stations along the Baṣra-Mecca road, respectively. At a distance of seven miles from Falja to the west there is a place called Suwāj wa-z-Zujayj (*sic*).<sup>154</sup> There is a letter given to a person from B. al-Bakkā’ (or from B. ‘Amr) b. ‘Āmir b. Rabī’a b. ‘Āmir b. Ṣaṣa’a concerning az-Zujayj, which was obviously close to a place called Suwāj, hence the unusual place-name Suwāj wa-z-Zujayj. In addition, there is a letter given to a Ri’li concerning the nearby ad-Dathīna. A place mentioned in a letter to a person from ‘Uṣayya should presumably be located near Suwāj as well.<sup>155</sup> Suwāj is between Falja and az-Zujayj.<sup>156</sup>

152 Lughda, pp. 370–1. Al-Aḥṣṣ which belongs to Sulaym is half a day’s distance from a water-place belonging to Kilāb called Shubayth; see Lughda, p. 198; Yāqūt, s.v. al-Aḥṣṣ. Both places belonged previously to Bakr and Taghlib; this area was the site of the Basūs war, Yāqūt, *loc. cit.*

153 *Manāsik*, pp. 612–3: *lā taskunuhā l-qabā’il wa-kullu musharrad yalja’u ilayhā*.

154 *Manāsik*, p. 598.

155 See below, Ch. VIII. This Suwāj, west of Ḍariyya, should not be confused with another Suwāj in the eastern part of Ḍariyya which was one of the border points of the ḥimā Ḍariyya and is now known as Suwāj al-Khayl, Yāqūt, s.v.; Bakri, s.v., III, p. 764; Samh., s.v.; *Maghānim*, s.v., p. 189. The eastern Suwāj is sometimes called Suwāj Ṭikhfa (some sources have other vocalisations of Ṭikhfa), Yāqūt, *Mushtarik*, s.v. Yāqūt, s.v. Suwāj says that the mountain of Suwāj was a *khayāl*, i.e., a mountain (presumably prominent in the

Suwāj was inhabited by clans from the Khufāf tribal group of the Imru'ū l-Qays branch: first by the B. 'Amīra b. Khufāf then by the B. 'Uṣayya b. Khufāf.<sup>157</sup> The B. Abū Bakr b. Kilāb presumably inhabited the same area: aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Sufyān was sent by the Prophet in 9 A.H., shortly after his appointment as tax-collector of the B. Kilāb, to fight against the Quraṭa' (who were descendants of Abū Bakr b. Kilāb) in Ḍariyya. The battle took place in Zujj Lāwa which is identical to the above-mentioned az-Zujayj.<sup>158</sup> The nearness of the territories of 'Uṣayya and Abū Bakr b. Kilāb should be connected with the following record: the eponym Abū Bakr b. Kilāb, whose name was 'Ubayd, was married to Ṭuhayya bint Rawāḥa b. 'Uṣayya who bore him all his children.<sup>159</sup>

As for the Ja'far b. Kilāb, there is evidence of links between them and two clans from Sulaym, namely the 'Abs (from the Ḥārith branch) and the Ri'l (from the Imru'ū l-Qays branch). There was a marriage link between the B. 'Abs, or more specifically their leading family the B. Jāriya, and the leading family of the Ja'far b. Kilāb: Mālik b. Ja'far b. Kilāb<sup>160</sup> begot Salmā, nicknamed *nazzāl al-maḍīq* (or *an-nāzil bi-l-maḍīq*) and 'Utba Abū Sharīk. They were born by Khālida bint Sinān b. Jāriya b. 'Abd b. 'Abs b. Rifā'a from the B. Sulaym. Salmā's son Jabbār killed 'Āmir b. Fuhayra in the battle of Bi'r Ma'ūna.<sup>161</sup> A link between the B. Ri'l and

landscape) demarcating the boundary between the *ḥimā* and the area surrounding it (*wa-l-khayāl thaniyya takūnu ka-l-ḥaddi bayna l-ḥimā wa-ghayri l-ḥimā*). See also Bakrī, s.v. Ḍariyya, III, p. 868. Jāsir remarks (*Maghānim*, p. 189, n. 1) that the mountain Suwāj al-Khayl is still known. It is a huge black mountain seen by one who goes to Mecca on the road of al-Qaṣim, after Immara; *Manāsik*, p. 598, n. 5.

156 Yāqūt, and Yāqūt, *Mushtarik*, s.v.; *Maghānim*, s.v. Falja, p. 319.

157 Yāqūt, s.v. Suwāj.

158 Cf. *Manāsik*, pp. 598–9. And cf. the letter given by the Prophet to al-'Addā' b. Khālid, Ḥamīdullah, *Wathā'iq*, nos. 223, 225 (the place-names are garbled).

159 I. Kalbi, *Jamh.*, fol. 124b.

160 The father of 'Āmir Abū Barā', nicknamed *mulā'ib al-asinna*, aṭ-Ṭufayl, the father of 'Āmir b. aṭ-Ṭufayl, Rabi'a, the father of the poet Labid b. Rabi'a and others.

161 I. Kalbi, *Jamh.*, fol. 123a; I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 285. On Khālida's nephew Hind see Appendix E, n. 107.

the B. Ja'far b. Kilāb is reported in connection with the *yawm* ar-Raghām, also called *yawm* al-Jawnayni.<sup>162</sup> The place of the attack (Zilāl, or Zilāl Sawān<sup>163</sup>) is not far from Ṭikhfa: it is said to be on the left hand side when going to Mecca (i.e., on the Baṣra-Mecca road). The B. Tha'laba b. Yarbū' of Tamīm under 'Utayba b. al-Ḥārith b. Shihāb attacked the B. Ja'far b. Kilāb and seized their camels and the camels of the Sulamīs that were under their protection.<sup>164</sup> From the Sulamīs, Anas b. 'Abbās ar-Ri'li is named specifically because of the role he played there. In the context of this battle we are informed of a treaty between the B. Ri'l and the attackers, i.e., the B. Tha'laba b. Yarbū'. The treaty, which forms a vital part of the plot, enabled Anas to delay the Tha'laba until the cavalry of Kilāb arrived. Apart from the identity of the contracting parties, two stipulations are recorded: that there would be no bloodshed nor attacks against the property (i.e., camels).<sup>165</sup> This was obviously no more than an undertaking of one party not to attack the other.<sup>166</sup>

162 Kister 1965a, p. 354=*Naqā'id*, pp. 410, 301–2 (read: 'Utayba b. al-Ḥārith instead of 'Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn); *Aghānī*, XIV, pp. 86–7; Yāqūt, s.v. Zallāl; Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1057b.

163 But cf. Lughda, pp. 186–7; Yāqūt, s.v. Tayman Dhī Zilāl and Zallāl.

164 The verse of Jarir in the *Naqā'id*, p. 301 mentions, together with the *yawm* jiz' Zilāl also the battle of Dhū Najab; the two battles appear together in another verse of Jarir (*Dīwān*, II, p. 583), only this time it is *yawm* B. Rabi'a. Ibn Ḥabib explains that this refers to Rabi'a b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a (i.e., the father of Kilāb -L.) and it is identical to the *yawm* ar-Raghām. He adds that he does not know where it is.

165 *Naqā'id*, I, p. 410, l. 9: *wa-kāna bayna B. Tha'laba b. Yarbū' wa-bayna B. Ri'l 'ahd allā yusfaka* (Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1057b adds here: *baynahum*) *dam wa-lā yu'kala māl*. Cf. Landau-Tasseron, *Ridda*, p. 263.

166 It should be noted that this is not the only version concerning the affair of Anas b. 'Abbās and 'Utayba b. al-Ḥārith; see Kister 1965a, p. 354, n. 4=Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1057b ('Abbās b. Anas). The compilations of *amthāl* (Zamakh., *Mustaqṣā*, I, pp. 258–9, no. 1091; Maydānī, *Amthāl*, II, p. 66, no. 2712; Ḥamza, *Durra fākhira*, I, pp. 324–5, no. 512; cf. 'Abbās b. Mirdās, *Dīwān*, pp. 36–7), quoting Abū 'Ubayda, record under *aghdar min* ("more treacherous than") 'Utayba b. al-Ḥārith a story in which Anas came to 'Utayba

In the *yawm* Jabala the B. 'Abs (b. Rifā'a b. al-Ḥārith b. Buhtha) fought under the command of Mirdās b. Abī 'Āmir, the father of 'Abbās b. Mirdās, together with the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a; they were confederates of (*ḥulafā' fi*) the B. 'Āmir b. Kilāb. However, according to another version, Mirdās was with his maternal uncles from Ghani: his mother was Fāṭima bint Jalhama al-Ghanawī.<sup>167</sup>

A few records refer to old marriage links between Sulaym and Numayr, Qushayr, Ja'da and 'Uqayl. The leading family of Numayr b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a was linked by marriage with a leading family from the Ḥārith branch: a daughter of Ḥabash b. 'Āmir b. Rifā'a b. al-Ḥārith b. Buhtha<sup>168</sup> was married to 'Abdallah b. al-Ḥārith b. Numayr b. 'Āmir and bore him his sons.<sup>169</sup> There was a link on the eponymous level between Qushayr b. Ka'b b. Rabī'a b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a and his brother Ja'da and Qunfudh from the Imru'u l-Qays branch: Ka'b b. Rabī'a b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a begot Qushayr and Ja'da, whose mother was Rayṭa bint Qunfudh b. Mālik b. 'Awf b. Imri'i l-Qays b. Buhtha.<sup>170</sup>

as a guest with a party from the B. Sulaym. 'Utayba took their camels and kept them in bonds until they released themselves. The compilations record two of the verses of 'Abbās b. Mirdās found also in the *Naqā'id*; but unlike in the *Naqā'id* story, the main figure here is not Anas b. 'Abbās al-Aṣamm from the B. Ri'l, but the nephew of 'Abbās b. Mirdās, Unays b. Murra b. Mirdās (thus in Maydāni; Ḥamza has that 'Abbās was his brother; the *Mustaqṣā* has: Anas b. Mirdās). The mention of a relative of 'Abbās b. Mirdās seems secondary and this version of the affair seems inferior to the one found in the *Naqā'id*.

167 *Naqā'id*, II, p. 659, l. 15. The B. Abi Bakr b. Kilāb wronged Mirdās at that time (*Naqā'id*, II, pp. 672–3), which is an indication that the 'Abs were then in an inferior position.

168 Cf. I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 161b: *kāna sayyidahum fī zamānihi*; cf. below, Ch. VI, n. 35.

169 I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 147b; the 'Abdallah b. al-Ḥārith were the leading family of Numayr, *fīhim ash-sharaf wa-l-'adad*; I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 279: 'Abdallah b. al-Ḥārith, *wa-fīhi l-bayt*. The daughter's name was Ḥaraja as in the former place in the *Jamh.*; the latter place has: Maḥraja(?).

170 I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 129a; *Aghānī*, IV, p. 135, l. 2. A Qaysi solidarity in a broader sense is expressed by the request of a Sulamī and a Ja'di from Mu'āwiya on the eve of Busr b.

The B. 'Uqayl b. Ka'b b. Rabī'a b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a conclude the discussion of the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a clans. The record concerning the breaking away of the Bajla (Mālik b. Tha'laba b. Buhtha) from Sulaym and their association with the B. 'Uqayl presumably refers to these 'Uqayl.<sup>171</sup> On the other hand, we hear of 'Uqayl fighting against Sulaym and Hawāzin: Ibn al-Kalbī reports on Ḥazn b. Khafāja b. 'Amr b. 'Uqayl that he was a commander but not a poet; he was the leader in the *yawm* al-Midhyān, a battle against Sulaym and Hawāzin. No further details are provided.<sup>172</sup> An 'Uqayli is said to have sent a message to the B. Sulaym (it is not clear in what capacity) instructing them to remain loyal to Islam in the time of the *rida*.<sup>173</sup>

Additional links on the eponymous level with Qays 'Aylān tribes should be mentioned. The mother of Sulaym was from the Qays 'Aylān tribe Ghanī: 'Aṣmā' b. Buhtha b. Ghanm b. Ghani.<sup>174</sup>

The B. Māzin b. Maṣṣūr, being the "brothers" of Sulaym b. Maṣṣūr, were in fact the closest relatives of Sulaym. Sulaym were linked with them

Arṭa'a's retaliatory expedition against the supporters of 'Alī in the *bādiya*, that he would not be given powers over Qays, lest he kill them in retaliation for those from Fihri and Kināna killed by Sulaym during the conquest of Mecca, *Naqā'id*, II, p. 716: they were Ma'n b. Yazid b. al-Akhnas as-Sulamī (from the B. Zighb) and Ziyād b. al-Ashhab b. Ward b. 'Amr b. Rabī'a b. Ja'da. There is an uncertain record concerning a later link between the leading family of 'Uṣayya, Sharid, and the leading family of Qushayr: from the details provided on the descendants of Salama al-Khayr b. Qushayr b. Ka'b it appears that they were the leading family of Qushayr, I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 134a–137b; I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, pp. 289–90.

171 See below, Ch. IV, n. 17.

172 *Jamh.*, fol. 131a: *wa-kāna ra'isan wa-lam yaku (sic) shā'iran wa-huwa ṣāhib yawmi l-Midhyān, waq'a 'alā b. Sulaym wa-Hawāzin.*

173 *Iṣāba*, s.v. Hubayra b. Maḥāda, VI, p. 570, no. 9042 (quoting Wathīma, *Kitāb ar-rida*).

174 I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 157b; Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1188a. Cf. above, n. 167, the record on the Ghanawī mother of Mirdās b. Abi 'Āmir.

not only on the father's side: the mother of all the children of Buhtha b. Sulaym, and hence the mother of all the Sulamīs, was Hind bint Māzin b. Maṣūr.<sup>175</sup> But apart from the links on the eponymous level nothing could be found concerning an actual relationship between these tribes.<sup>176</sup>

As for Muḥārib b. Khaṣafa b. Qays 'Aylān, at several points the Sulaym territory touched upon that of Muḥārib. Some evidence of marriages could also be found: the wife of Qunfudh b. Mālīk b. 'Awf and the mother of his children Jābir and 'Abdallah was from Muḥārib.<sup>177</sup> One of the points of contact was near al-Qayāsira, which still exists, north of the *ma'din*.<sup>178</sup> Near an-Naqira<sup>179</sup> there was a mountain called Arik, one side of which belonged to Muḥārib while the other side belonged to the B. aṣ-Ṣādir from Sulaym.<sup>180</sup> Ufay'iya<sup>181</sup> further south (see map), which is usually considered a Sulamī territory,<sup>182</sup> is listed by Lughda among the mountains of Muḥārib.<sup>183</sup> In addition, the *ḥarra* called Maniḥa belonged to Jasn (i.e., Jasn b. Muḥārib) and Sulaym.<sup>184</sup> Hajari<sup>185</sup> mentions *wādī* al-Ya'mala near the mountains of the same name, in the land of Sulaym, bordering on the land of Muḥārib. In the *wādī* there were many

175 I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 157b; Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1188a.

176 Note that 'Abbās b. Mirdās was appointed by the Prophet as the tax collector of both Sulaym b. Maṣūr and Māzin b. Maṣūr, Balādh., *Ansāb*, I, p. 530, no. 1067. This could indicate that the territories of these tribes were adjacent.

177 I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 160a–160b; Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1192a.

178 Lughda, p. 174.

179 Also an-Naqra or an-Nuqra.

180 Yāqūt, s.v. Arik; Lughda, p. 175. Cf. *Manāsik*, pp. 321–2. I found nothing on this group.

181 Also called: Ufā'iya; but there is some indication that these were originally two different and adjacent places, *Manāsik*, p. 341, n. 4.

182 Yāqūt, s.v.; Samh., s.v. Ufā'iya (26.5 miles from the *ma'din* B. Sulaym); *Manāsik*, pp. 333–6, 341–3; *Maghānim*, s.v. Ufay'iya, p. 16.

183 Lughda, p. 177. But cf. Lughda, p. 404, where it is a water-place of the B. Sulaym.

184 Bakrī, III, p. 722, l. 4; 'Arrām, p. 438.

185 Pp. 243–4; Bakrī, p. 635; cf. Lughda, p. 181.

water-places shared by the two tribes. Al-Ya'mala was thirteen miles from ar-Rabadha.

The relations of Sulaym with clans of the Qays 'Aylān, especially with members of Hawāzin, were on different levels of intensity; the geographical factor must have played an important role. In some cases only a marriage link on the eponymous level could be found.

### *Ghaṭafān b. Sa'd b. Qays 'Aylān*

There was a link between Sulaym and Ghaṭafān on the eponymous level: Tukma bint Murr, the mother of Ghaṭafān, was also the mother of Sulaym and Salāmān, sons of Maṣṣūr.<sup>186</sup> Not long before the Islamic period there was a marriage link between the leading family Sharīd and the leading family of 'Abs from Ghaṭafān; however, the exact details are disputed: Zuhayr b. Jadhīma,<sup>187</sup> "the *sayyid* of 'Abs and the whole of Ghaṭafān", was married to Tumāḍīr bint ash-Sharīd, who bore him Qays, Mālik, al-Ḥārith, Warqā', Wahb and Sha's.<sup>188</sup> Another report<sup>189</sup> calls this woman Fāṭima bint ash-Sharīd.<sup>190</sup> The marriages should not mislead us. Whereas there was close cooperation between Sulaym and Hawāzin (with very few cases of fighting, none of which were pre-planned or on a large scale), the relations between Sulaym and Ghaṭafān were hostile. The battles between the two tribes, which are discussed in Ch. VII below, involved the combined effort of different Sulamī clans.

There are intriguing clues to Ghaṭafānī presence on the southeastern edges of the *ḥarrat* B. Sulaym; they seem to indicate that Ghaṭafān had owned territories there before they were taken over by Sulaym.

186 I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 165a; I. Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, p. 309. Cf. Wāqidi, III, pp. 912–3 (read: Tukma bint Murr, instead of Bukma bint Murra).

187 b. Rawāḥa b. Rabī'a b. Māzin al-'Absī.

188 *Aghānī*, XVI, p. 33, l. 4; I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 251, l. 5; I. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, p. 461.

189 *Aghānī*, X, p. 16, l. 20.

190 Elsewhere (Nābigha Dhub., *Dīwān*, p. 80) it is reported that Tumāḍīr bint ash-Sharīd was

*Ghaṭafān and al-‘Uzzā in Nakhla*

The idol al-‘Uzzā<sup>191</sup> is said to belong to Ghaṭafān. Wellhausen thought<sup>192</sup> that the reports of Ibn al-Kalbī linking the Ghaṭafān to al-‘Uzzā refer to another ‘Uzzā, not the one in Nakhla. Buss, he says, was not the shrine of Nakhla, but the so-called Ka‘ba of Ghaṭafān which was likewise dedicated to al-‘Uzzā and demolished by Zuhayr b. Janāb al-Kalbī. The Muslim scholars, who confused the ‘Uzzā of Buss with that of Nakhla, were encouraged to do so by the fact that the name Buss is also the name of an area near Nakhla, not far from the battlefield of Ḥunayn. However, Wellhausen remarks, this creates a difficulty: the same ‘Uzzā was demolished twice, once by Zuhayr b. Janāb and once by Khālīd b. al-Walīd.

Wellhausen is right in his observation.<sup>193</sup> However, it is insufficient for claiming that there was another ‘Uzzā. In fact, there is a solid piece of evidence that part of the B. Murra b. ‘Awf from Ghaṭafān camped at the very site of the idol: Khālīd b. Ja‘far b. Kilāb attacked the clan of al-Ḥārith b. Zālīm from the B. Yarbū‘ b. Ghayṣ b. Murra while they were in a *wādī* called Ḥurād.<sup>194</sup> *Wādī Ḥurād* was the exact site of al-‘Uzzā in Nakhla.<sup>195</sup> Iḥsān ‘Abbās<sup>196</sup> is right in assuming that the reports linking Ghaṭafān and Quraysh to al-‘Uzzā relate to different periods. ‘Abbās suggests that

the mother of Fāṭima bint Qays b. Zuhayr. A *nikāḥ al-maqt* (marriage with the father's wife) is impossible: Tumādīr was Qays' mother.

191 See Wellhausen, *Reste*, pp. 34–45; Grohmann, *Arabien*, pp. 83–4.

192 *Reste*, pp. 37–8.

193 Cf. n. 200 below.

194 *Aghānī*, X, p. 17, l. 15; p. 18, l. 22; Bakrī, s.v. Ḥurād, II, p. 433. Incidentally, Bakrī refers to a discussion on Ḥurād in s.v. al-Ash‘ar, but this is an error as another Ḥurād is meant there.

195 See e.g. Yāqūt, s.v. al-‘Uzzā, p. 116, right column: *wa-kānat bi-wāḍin min Nakhlat al-sh-Shāmiyya yuqālu lahu Ḥurād*.

196 See ‘Abbās 1973–7, p. 31.



Quraysh allied Ghaṭafān; but it seems likely that Quraysh took over following the operation of Zuhayr b. Janāb (on this operation see below).

The cult of al-‘Uzzā is said to have been introduced by Zālim b. As‘ad<sup>197</sup> and its custodians were the B. Širma b. Murra.<sup>198</sup> Another aspect of the early Ghaṭafānī link with al-‘Uzzā is focused around the building built by the B. Murra at Buss. The reports on Buss were analyzed by M. J. Kister.<sup>199</sup> A point of incidental interest is the location of the building. Ibn al-Kalbī makes it clear that Zālim b. As‘ad built Buss at the site of al-‘Uzzā.<sup>200</sup> Indeed, Buss was originally a water-place of the B. Murra: the

197 b. Rabi‘a b. ‘Āmir b. Mālik b. Murra. Zālim was the grandfather of al-Muthallam b. Riyāh b. Zālim b. As‘ad, I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 168b. Al-Muthallam was a contemporary of al-Ḥuṣayn b. al-Ḥumām al-Murri (cf. *Aghānī*, XII, p. 126), the *sayyid* of the B. Sahm b. Murra, *Aghānī*, XII, p. 123, who flourished shortly before the Islamic period and is sometimes said to have been a companion of the Prophet, *Aghānī*, XII, p. 128, l. 16; *Iṣāba*, II, pp. 84–5, no. 1735.

198 Wellhausen, *Reste*, pp. 34–45; see also the important text published by Iḥsān ‘Abbās (‘Abbās 1973–7, pp. 30–4); Zurqānī, II, p. 247, l. 5 from bottom (Sa‘d b. Zālim al-Ghaṭafānī; he moved a stone from aṣ-Ṣafā and a stone from al-Marwa to *Nakhla* etc.); Ya‘qūbī, *Ta‘rikh*, I, p. 255, l. 3; I. Kalbī, *Aṣnām*, p. 18; I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 168b; Yāqūt, s.v. al-‘Uzzā; I. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, p. 315.

199 See section II of Kister 1986.

200 *Aṣnām*, p. 18: *fa-banā ‘alayhā Bussan*; cf. Yāqūt, s.v. al-‘Uzzā: *wa-l-‘Uzzā: samura kānat li-Ghaṭafān ya‘budūnahā, wa-kānū banaw ‘alayhā baytan wa-aqāmū lahā sadana*. Since there is mention of a house destroyed by Khālīd b. al-Walīd (Yāqūt, *loc. cit.*: *fa-hadama l-bayt wa-aḥraqa s-samura*; I. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, p. 124: *fa-hadama bayta l-‘Uzzā wa-qaṭa‘a shajarātihā*; p. 315: *fa-qaṭa‘a sh-shajarata wa-hadama l-bayt wa-kasara l-wathan*; Zurqānī, II, p. 348, l. 11: *hadama l-bayta ‘llatī [sic] hiya fihi wa-kāna ‘alā thalāthi samurāt, kamā rawāhu l-Bayhaqī ‘an Abī ṭ-Ṭufayl. Fa-qaṭa‘ahā wa-hadama l-bayt wa-kasara ṣ-ṣanam*), it could mean that the house of al-‘Uzzā was rebuilt after having been destroyed by Zuhayr b. Janāb al-Kalbī; see Kister, *loc. cit.* Cf. the reference to the treasury of the idol Suwā‘ in the story of its destruction; nothing was found in it (I. Sayyid an-Nās, *‘Uyūn al-athar*, Cairo 1956, II, p. 185: *fa-hadamū bayta khizānatihi*); also the permission

B. Baghīḍ (i.e., B. 'Abs, B. Murra and B. Fazāra) decided to declare a *ḥaram* resembling the *ḥaram* of Mecca. The B. Murra undertook to carry this out. Riyāḥ b. Zālīm (*sic*) was in charge of the affair of the *ḥaram* and the building of its wall. They did this while camped at a water-place called Buss.<sup>201</sup>

According to Wathīma,<sup>202</sup> Zālīm b. As'ad moved not only al-'Uzzā from Mecca to a new locality, but also two other idols of Ghatafān. He placed al-'Uzzā in Dhāt 'Irq, which is between Nakhla al-Yamāniyya (see map) and Nakhla ash-Shāmiyya, and he placed the other two idols in the upper part of (*wāḍi*) Hunayn and near 'Ukāz, respectively.

The precise location of al-'Uzzā/Buss can be determined by combining the details supplied by Ibn al-Kalbī:<sup>203</sup> al-'Uzzā was in a *wāḍi* of Nakhla ash-Shāmiyya (i.e., draining into Nakhla ash-Shāmiyya) called Ḥurād, opposite al-Ghumayr, on the right hand side of one travelling from Mecca to Iraq. This is nine miles above Dhāt 'Irq in the direction of al-Bustān.<sup>204</sup> The definition relates to the road between Dhāt 'Irq and Bustān Ibn 'Āmir (or Ibn Ma'mar). Dhāt 'Irq today is called aḍ-Ḍarība and Bustān is at the meeting point of the two Nakhlas, ash-Shāmiyya and al-Yamāniyya.<sup>205</sup> There is a detailed description of the road in the *Manāsik*.<sup>206</sup> The distance between Dhāt 'Irq and the Bustān is twenty-one miles.<sup>207</sup> Before arriving

given by the Prophet to pay the debts of two Thaqafīs from the *māl at-ṭāghiya*, i.e., the treasury of al-Lāt, *Iṣāba*, V, p. 403, no. 7053.

201 *Aghānī*, XXI, p. 64, l. 9. The expression "Ka'bat Ghatafān" is significant with regard to the Meccan model; see e.g. Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, VIII, p. 84: it was built by Zālīm b. Sa'd(!) b. Rabi'a and Zuhayr b. Ḥabāb(!) destroyed it.

202 See 'Abbās 1973–7, pp. 33–4.

203 *Aṣnām*, p. 18; Yāqūt, s.v. al-'Uzzā, p. 116, right column.

204 *Wa-kānat bi-wāḍin min Nakhlata sh-Shāmiyya yuqālu lahu Ḥurādun bi-'izā'i l-Ghumayr 'an yamīni l-muṣ'idi ilā l-'Irāqi min Makka, wa-dhālika fawqa Dhāt 'Irq ilā l-Bustān bi-tis'ati amyal.*

205 *Manāsik*, p. 356, n. 2.

206 Pp. 351f.

207 But cf. *Manāsik*, p. 603: twenty-four miles.

at the Bustān, one passes al-Ghumayr at a distance of seven miles from Dhāt 'Irq. We can infer that the site of al-'Uzzā in Ḥurāḍ was two miles further down the road from al-Ghumayr in the direction of Mecca.<sup>208</sup>

The *Manāsik* does not mention Ḥurāḍ.<sup>209</sup> Al-Ghumayr was an important station on the pilgrim route: those who wanted to cross the distance from Wajra (on the Baṣra-Mecca road) and Ghamra (on the Kūfa pilgrim route) in two days, had a station in al-Ghumayr; those who crossed it in three days had a station in Dhāt 'Irq and another in the Bustān.<sup>210</sup> The *Manāsik* reports that in al-Ghumayr there are ruins of many shops (*ḥawānīt*). Yāqūt identifies Bustān al-Ghumayr<sup>211</sup> with the Ghamr Dhī Kinda; he adds that people from the B. Makhzūm have land there, hence the name Bustān al-Ghumayr. Ghamr Dhī Kinda may not have been identical to al-Ghumayr, but it must have been close to it.<sup>212</sup>

Al-Ghumayr is the beginning of Nakhla ash-Shāmiyya, whereas Qarn al-Manāzil is the beginning of Nakhla al-Yamāniyya.<sup>213</sup> *Wādī* Nakhla

208 Incidentally, at a distance of about two miles from al-Ghumayr in the other direction, between Dhāt 'Irq and al-Ghumayr, there was the grave of Abū Righāl, *Manāsik*, pp. 352–3; Yāqūt, s.v. Righāl. For another version concerning his grave see *Manāsik*, p. 351, note; Lughda, p. 377, n. 1. Cf. *EP*, s.v. Abū Righāl (S.A. Bonebakker).

209 It mentions (p. 354) a place called Uthāl at a distance of three miles from al-Ghumayr in the direction of Mecca (i.e., presumably one mile from Ḥurāḍ); Yāqūt, s.v.

210 Lughda, p. 377.

211 S.v.; see also s.v. al-Ghamr.

212 Cf. *Manāsik*, p. 603; Bakri, III, pp. 18, 1003. It is not clear whether the land of the Makhzūmis was linked to the pre-Islamic *ḥimā* declared by Quraysh in Suqām, which was a *shi'b* in *wādī* Ḥurāḍ; see Yāqūt, s.v. al-'Uzzā, p. 116, left column; s.v. Suqām; I. Kalbī, *Aṣnām*, p. 19. Khālid b. al-Walid (al-Makhzūmī) may have been chosen for the task of demolishing al-'Uzzā because Makhzūmī interests were involved; cf. the testimony of Khālid concerning the sincerity and enthusiasm of his father in the worship of al-'Uzzā, Azraqī, I, p. 128; it certainly falls short of proof.

213 Yāqūt, s.v. Nakhla ash-Shāmiyya; Bakri, s.v. Nakhla, IV, p. 1304. The Shāmiyya was also called Nakhlat Dhāt 'Irq, Yāqūt, s.v. Nakhla al-Yamāniyya (its upper part belongs to the B. Sa'd b. Bakr).

ash-Shāmiyya stretches from the *ḥarra* north of ‘Ushayra until it converges with *wādī* Nakhla al-Yamāniyya below the village called Sawla (which appears in the maps – erroneously – as Ṣalāḥ). They create a *wādī* which was once called Baṭn Marr or Marr az-Zahrān and is now called *wādī* Fāṭima.<sup>214</sup>

In sum, al-‘Uzzā was located in Ḥurād, which was at the upper part of *wādī* Nakhla ash-Shāmiyya, roughly midway between Dhāt ‘Irq and Bustān Ibn Ma‘mar. It was past the point at which the Kūfa and the Baṣra pilgrim roads converged.<sup>215</sup>

Buss could not have existed for a long time: it was destroyed in the lifetime of its founder Zālim b. As‘ad: Zuhayr b. Janāb al-Kalbī killed him when he destroyed it.<sup>216</sup> Kister dates the demolition of Buss by Zuhayr b. Janāb al-Kalbī in the third quarter of the sixth century.

Ghaṭafān were not the only worshippers of al-‘Uzzā. The B. Naṣr and Jusham<sup>217</sup> and Sa‘d b. Bakr, who were the ‘Ajuz Hawāzin, worshipped al-‘Uzzā too.<sup>218</sup> This may well have been the case with Sulaym as well.

214 Lughda, p. 374, n. 2; *Manāsik*, pp. 464–5; Bakri, IV, p. 1304; Zamakh., *Jibāl*, p. 13. Strangely enough Zamakh., *Fā‘iq*, s.v. *n.f.j.*, IV, p. 14, places Marr az-Zahrān near ‘Arafa.

215 As implied by the text from Wathima, the cult of al-‘Uzzā did not begin with Zālim b. As‘ad. Al-‘Uzzā appears in the name of the eponym of a large Ghaṭafānī clan, the ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā b. Ghaṭafān. When a delegation from this clan came to the Prophet, he changed their name from B. ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā b. Ghaṭafān to B. ‘Abdallah b. Ghaṭafān, I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 165b; I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 248; not in the *wufūd* section of I. Sa‘d, I, pp. 291–359; cf. I. Kalbī, *Aṣnām*, p. 18; Kister 1975, pp. 4–5; Wellhausen, *Reste*, p. 39. There are ten generations between a companion of the Prophet from the B. ‘Abdallah/‘Abd al-‘Uzzā b. Ghaṭafān and that eponym, I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 248.

216 Kister, 1986. As already mentioned, according to another version it was Riyāḥ b. Zālim, not his father, who built al-Buss; see Kister, *loc. cit.* = *Aghānī*, XXI, p. 94, l. 10.

217 Cf. Durayd b. aṣ-Ṣimma demanding an oath by the god of the camels trotting to Ḥurād, Wellhausen, *Reste*, p. 35, n. 1 = Bakrī, s.v. Ḥurād, II, p. 433: *fa-in lam tashkurū li fa-‘ḥlifū li bi-rabbī r-rāqīṣāti ilā Ḥurādi*. Durayd was from the B. Jusham b. Mu‘āwiya; see above, n. 141; I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 270. The first part of Wellhausen’s note is an indirect answer to a point in Nöldeke’s recension of the first edition of the *Reste*, ZDMG 41 (1887), p. 711.

218 Azraqī, I, p. 127 (al-Kalbī). See on the ‘Ajuz Hawāzin Azraqī, I, pp. 127, 149; Wāqidi,

Having suggested that the ‘Uzzā of Ghaṭafān was identical to the well-known ‘Uzzā in Nakhla we may note the conflicting reports about its custodians: on one hand, the B. Ṣirma b. Murra, the clan of the *sayyid* of Ghaṭafān Hāshim b. Ḥarmala and, on the other, the B. Shaybān from the Sulamī B. ‘Abs (the Ḥārith branch). The reports presumably relate to different periods. When the idol was destroyed by Khālīd b. al-Walīd, it had a Shaybānī custodian; this indicates that the Sulamī custodianship was later.<sup>219</sup> This should be linked with a record of a place called al-Atm. In s.v. al-Atm Yāqūt records the transfer of this place from Ghaṭafān to Sulaym. The wording may imply that the Sulamis had a share in it even before they became the sole owners. He says: “It was a plain of Ghaṭafān, then Sulaym became its sole owners” (*qā’ li-Ghaṭafān, thumma ’khtaṣṣat bihi B. Sulaym*). This vague record tells of a shift of al-Atm from Ghaṭafān to Sulaym.<sup>220</sup>

### *Non-Qays ‘Aylān tribes*

As we move out of the Qays ‘Aylān circle, the evidence on links with Sulaym becomes rather scanty. There is some evidence on Tamīm, Rabī’a b. Nizār and a few Yemenī tribes.

II, p. 722; *Lisān al-‘arab*, s.v. ‘j.z., p. 372; Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, III, p. 318, l. 9 (A’jāz Hawāzin). Cf. Bakrī, IV, p. 1236. And cf. the verse of ‘Abbās b. Mirdās addressing Hawāzin, *a’lāhā wa-asfalahā*, I. Hishām, IV, p. 84, l. 6. On ‘Ulyā Hawāzin see *Khizāna*, V, p. 442; *Aghānī*, X, pp. 18–20; cf. *Lisān al-‘arab*, s.v. ‘l.y., p. 93.

219 It does not necessarily mean that the Ghaṭafān ceased to worship it. Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, II, fol. 210b, says that it belonged to Sulaym, Ghaṭafān, Jusham (written: Gh.sh.m., but cf. ‘Ajuz Hawāzin etc.), Naṣr b. Mu’āwiya and Sa’d b. Bakr. Ibn Ishāq (in Azraqī, I, p. 126) says that al-‘Uzzā belonged to Khuzā’a (*sic*) and that Quraysh and all Kināna used to worship it with Khuzā’a and all Muḍar.

220 See on al-Atm also Jāsir’s note in *al-‘Arab* (Riyāḍ) VI,v (January 1972), p. 396; above, n. 91. For military pressure of Sulaym on Ghaṭafān, see the battle of Ḥawra, below Ch. VII. A vague indication of its time can be found in the fact that ‘Abbās b. Mirdās was then a young man, *Aghānī*, XIII, p. 141, l. 22.

The Tamīm involved are the B. Māzin b. Mālīk b. ‘Amr b. Tamīm. The B. Ri‘l (from the Imru‘u l-Qays branch) and the B. Fālij b. Dhakwān (from the Tha‘laba branch) are mentioned in the reports on the link between Sulaym and Tamīm.<sup>221</sup> One report<sup>222</sup> blames the Tamīmī sympathies of a formerly Tamīmī group within Sulaym for the unsuccessful attempt to chase the B. Tamīm after they had defeated a Sulamī clan. The event is the *yawm* of ad-Dathīna (ad-Dafīna) between the B. Māzin b. Mālīk b. ‘Amr b. Tamīm and the B. Ri‘l. The commander of Ri‘l al-Ḥuṣayn was killed then and, as a result of the many losses they suffered, the Ri‘l became one of the smallest clans of Sulaym (*lam yazālū min aqallī B. Sulaym*). When news of the defeat of Ri‘l came to other Sulamī clans, they took off in pursuit of the Tamīmīs. Their guide, from the B. Fālij b. Dhakwān, deliberately led them astray lest the B. Māzin be harmed. The report goes on to tell that their pedigree was Fālij b. Dhakwān b. Māzin b. Mālīk b. ‘Amr b. Tamīm; they said that these Fālij were a *nāqila* (i.e., a tribal group which shifted from one tribe to another, adopting a new genealogy)<sup>223</sup> from the B. Tamīm among the B. Sulaym.<sup>224</sup> The treaty between the B. Tha‘laba b. Yarbū‘ from Tamīm and the B. Ri‘l<sup>225</sup> is a solid piece of evidence.

An isolated bit of evidence concerns the B. Rabī‘a b. Nizār. In the context of an incident in which Abū l-‘Āj Kathīr b. ‘Abdallah, the Sulamī governor of Baṣra in the time of Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik, favoured Ḍubay‘a b. Rabī‘a b. Nizār against a Bāhili (i.e., a member of Qays ‘Aylān), the following remark appears: “It is said that Buhthat Sulaym is

221 The Ri‘l are related to the attack of the B. Tha‘laba b. Yarbū‘ from Tamīm on the B. Ja‘far b. Kilāb and the Sulamīs under their protection; see above, n. 164.

222 *Naqā‘id*, I, p. 392, in the margin of one of the MSS of the *Naqā‘id*.

223 Cf. *Aghānī*, IV, p. 102, l. 12. See Wazīr Maghribī, *Īnās*, p. 115: *qāla l-Kalbī fī kitāb nawāfili* (read: *nawāqili*) ‘bnay Nizār.

224 No Tamīmīs are mentioned in the meagre sources (two records, one of them uncertain) on the marriage links of the this group, I. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, p. 48.

225 See above, n. 165.

Buhthat Ḍubay'a, and God knows best".<sup>226</sup> This claim presumably relates to the new situation created in Baṣra after the conquests.

There is a considerable amount of evidence concerning raids on tribes in the Yemen (or on tribes which inhabited the road to the Yemen). On the other hand, there is some evidence of family relations with the same tribes.

The involvement of the B. Dhakwān b. Tha'laba b. Buhtha (who later became close allies of Mecca) in the Expedition of the Elephant against Mecca<sup>227</sup> may indicate that the Dhakwān had already been active in the Yemen a few generations before the Islamic era.

A marriage link on the eponymous level between their brothers, the B. Mālik b. Tha'laba, and the Daws appears to belong here: Daws, who were part of Azd, lived between Mecca and the Yemen. The eponym Mālik b. Tha'laba was married to Bajla from Daws.<sup>228</sup> In the Islamic period the Sulamī governor of Baṣra Mujāshi' b. Mas'ūd (from the B. Sammāl, one of the Imru'ū l-Qays clans) was married to Shumayla bint Abī Uzayhir ad-Dawṣī.<sup>229</sup> However, Shumayla could hardly have been the daughter of a man who was the confederate of Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb;<sup>230</sup> she was in fact his granddaughter.<sup>231</sup> Mujāshi's wife, Shumayla, became a widow when he was killed on the day of the Camel; she then married 'Abdallāh b.

226 Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1189b.

227 See below, Ch. VI, n. 5.

228 I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, pp. 379–81; below, Ch. IV, n. 11.

229 Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1190a; *Tāj al-'arūs*, s.v. *sh.m.l.*

230 Ḥassān, *Dīwān*, II, p. 258.

231 See (with different versions concerning her father's name) Balādh., *Ansāb*, I, pp. 136–7; I. Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, p. 251; *Aghānī*, XIX, p. 143, l. 4 from bottom. The *nisba* az-Zahrāniyya (in the last-mentioned source) refers to the great-grandfather of Daws, I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 379.

‘Abbās.<sup>232</sup> Ibn ‘Abbās was ‘Alī’s governor in Baṣra.<sup>233</sup> Considering the status of Abū Uzayhir,<sup>234</sup> it is clear that this marriage was of great political significance.<sup>235</sup>

Further south we find a rare family link on the eponymous level between Sulaym and Madhḥij: Madhḥij were the “brothers” of Sulaym because the eponym Madhḥij (Mālik b. Udad) was married to Salmā bint Maṣṣūr b. ‘Ikrima b. Khaṣafa b. Qays ‘Aylān (the sister of Sulaym b. Maṣṣūr), who bore him all his children.<sup>236</sup> This record relates to the tribes of al-Ḥārith b. Ka‘b, ‘Ans, Murād, Zubayd, Ju‘fī, Ṣudā’ and others.

On the other hand, there was a considerable amount of Sulamī military activity against the Yemen.<sup>237</sup> Tribes from Madhḥij and Quḍā’a often cooperated in operations against Sulaym. Zubayd from Madhḥij and “the two sons of Ṣuḥār” from Quḍā’a<sup>238</sup> are the goal of an expedition mentioned by ‘Abbās b. Mirdās. To reach the site of the battle, the Sulamīs

232 *Iṣāba*, V, p. 767, no. 7727, quoting Ibn al-Kalbī. However, according to another version, following the scandalous affair with Naṣr b. Ḥajjāj, Mujāshi’ divorced her; she was then married to Ibn ‘Abbās, Balādhī, *Ansāb*, I, p. 137; fol. 1190b; Ch. III, n. 80.

233 *Aghānī*, loc. cit. On Ibn ‘Abbās’ wife Shumayla see also Suyūṭī, *Awā’il*, p. 80. Daws were the maternal uncles of Abū Uzayhir, Ḥassān, *Dīwān*, II, p. 258; I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, pp. 385–6 (*wa-kāna yuqālu lahu d-Dawsī li-anna ‘idādahu kāna fī Daws*), 382.

234 Cf. Ḥassān, *Dīwān*, II, p. 259.

235 I. Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, p. 251, says that Ibn ‘Abbās married her when ‘Alī appointed him as the governor of Baṣra (as if there was a direct link between the appointment and the marriage).

236 I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 405.

237 The Sulamī experience in the Yemen was very useful in the first days of Islam: Sayf reports in his *Futūḥ* (quoted in the *Iṣāba*, VI, p. 145, no. 8064; Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, III, p. 319, I, 2) that Mu‘āwiya b. Anas as-Sulamī was one of those who fought against al-Aswad al-‘Ansī in the lifetime of the Prophet. Mu‘āwiya was possibly from the B. Ri’l, cf. below, n. 251; Ch. VIII, n. 69.

238 See I. Mākūlā, I, p. 75; I. Durayd, *Ishtiḳāq*, p. 546.



marched for twenty-nine days.<sup>239</sup> The battle against the Zubayd took place in Tathlith.<sup>240</sup> The *Manāsik* mentions Tathlith on the road from Ḥaḍramawt to Mecca, one station before *wādī* ‘Uqayl.<sup>241</sup> Tathlith is a huge *wādī* which is still known today; *wādī* ‘Uqayl is identical to ‘Aqīq ‘Uqayl known today as *wādī* ad-Dawāsir.<sup>242</sup> ‘Amr b. Ma’dī Karib fled from ‘Abbās b. Mirdās, who captured ‘Amr’s sister Rayḥāna.<sup>243</sup> According to one version Ṣakhr b. ‘Amr b. ash-Sharīd was buried in Qaww, one of the *wādīs* of the ‘Aqīq ‘Uqayl.<sup>244</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī<sup>245</sup> mentions

239 *Dīwān*, p. 69; *Aṣma‘iyyāt*, no. 70, p. 205; Yāqūt, s.v. Ṣuḥār; Bakrī, I, p. 31; ‘Amr b. Ma’dī Karib, *Shi’r*, pp. 109–13. See also Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, I, pp. 174–5.

240 *Aghānī*, XIII, p. 70.

241 *Manāsik*, p. 648.

242 *Loc. cit.*, nn. 7, 8. Tathlith is associated in the geographical sources with ‘Uqayl (b. Ka’b b. Rabī’a b. ‘Āmir b. Ṣa’ṣa’a, I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, pp. 290–1), with Madhḥij, more specifically Zubayd (b. Ṣa’b b. Sa’d al-‘Ashira b. Madhḥij, I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, pp. 411–2), with al-Ḥārith b. Ka’b and with Nahd; see Bakrī, s.v. Tathlith, I, pp. 304–5; Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ*, s.v., p. 131; Yāqūt, s.v. (his statement that *yawm* Tathlith was between Sulaym and Murād [b. Madhḥij, I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, pp. 406–7], seems to reflect the participation of Murād in this battle: six from Murād were killed in it, ‘Amr b. Ma’dī Karib, *Shi’r*, pp. 109–13); Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, pp. 59, 253; Hajārī, pp. 189, 214, 377. The pre-Islamic battles between Sulaym and Zubayd are echoed in the story of the generous hospitality with which ‘Amr b. Ma’dī Karib az-Zubaydī was received by Mujāshī’ b. Mas’ūd, presumably when the latter was the governor of Baṣra, *Iqd*, II, pp. 66–7; *Naqā’id*, I, p. 129. The B. Zubayd live in Tathlith to the present-day, Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, I, p. 174, n. 4.

243 *Iqd*, I, p. 146. However, according to another report, she was captured by aṣ-Ṣimma, the father of Durayd b. aṣ-Ṣimma from the B. Jusham b. Mu’āwiya. He married her and she bore him Durayd and his brothers; see e.g. *Aghānī*, IX, p. 2, l. 3 from bottom. But there is a good reason to suspect the latter report; see *Khizāna*, VIII, p. 183.

244 Bakrī, s.v. al-‘Aqīq, III, p. 952. But cf. below, Appendix C, n. 78. Bakrī’s statement that this ‘Aqīq is close to the ‘Aqīq of Medina (he was followed by Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ*, s.v. al-‘Aqīq, p. 416 – with *qutla* instead of *dufīna*) is, of course, wrong. See on this Qaww Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ*, s.v., p. 484; Yāqūt, s.v. ‘Ar’ar.

245 *Jamh.*, fol. 158b.

Hind al-Agharr b. Khālīd b. Ṣakhr b. ash-Sharīd who took Farwa b. Musayk al-Murādī captive.

The B. al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b, B. Zubayd and B. Khath'am are the potential enemies of Sulaym in the warning of Durayd b. aṣ-Ṣimma concerning the strife between 'Abbās b. Mirdās and Khufāf b. Nudba.<sup>246</sup> 'Abbās boasted of having killed a Zubaydī to avenge the killing of a maternal uncle of Khufāf b. Nudba; having captured the *ḥimā* of the B. Zubayd; having broken the strength of the B. al-Ḥārith; having "extinguished the burning coal of the Khath'am" and having "put necklaces of disgrace around the necks of the B. Kināna".<sup>247</sup>

The black mother of Khufāf b. Nudba was Nudba bint Abān from the B. al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b or, according to Abū 'Ubayda's version, the daughter of ash-Shayṭān b. Qanān al-Ḥārithiyya. Khufāf's grandfather, al-Ḥārith b. ash-Sharīd, captured her in a raid against the B. al-Ḥārith and gave her to his son 'Umayr. She bore him Khufāf b. 'Umayr b. al-Ḥārith b. ash-Sharīd.<sup>248</sup>

A battle against Khath'am in which 'Abbās al-Aṣamm was killed took place in Tarj.<sup>249</sup> Tarj is today a *wādī* inhabited by Balḥārith (i.e., al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b). It includes many villages in the area of Bīsha, in the *imāra* of Bilād 'Asīr.<sup>250</sup> On the other hand, it is reported that Anas b. 'Abbās became a commander and was then killed by Khath'am.<sup>251</sup>

A battle against Kinda took place near Ṣa'da. In the *yawm* 'Ilāf (or 'Alāf)

246 I. Qutayba, *Shi'r*, II, p. 746. The report in the *Aghānī*, XVI, p. 141, mentions Tamīm, Bakr b. Wā'il and Kināna.

247 *Aghānī*, XVI, p. 140, l. 21.

248 Bakrī, *Faṣl al-maqāl*, p. 96; I. Ḥabīb, *Alqāb*, p. 311; I. Sa'd, IV, p. 275. Ibn al-Kalbī provides a fuller pedigree: Nudba bint ash-Shayṭān b. Qanān b. Salama b. Wahb b. 'Abdallah b. Rabi'a b. al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b.

249 Bakrī, s.v. Bīsha, I, p. 293.

250 Jāsir, *Mu'jam jughrāfī*, s.v.; Bakrī, s.v., I, p. 309; Yāqūt, s.v.; Hajārī, Index, s.v.

251 Kister 1965a, pp. 353–4=I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 160a ([...] wa-qad ra'asa); *Iṣāba*, I, p. 125, no. 271 (quoting Ibn al-Kalbī); Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1192a (recording both versions).

252 I. Kalbī, *Khayl*, pp. 16, 21; *Naqā'id*, I, p. 303, l. 9.

Sulaym fought against Kinda. It was then that the famous horse A'waj was captured from Kinda.<sup>252</sup> *Wādī* 'Alāf/'Ilāf is from the *wādīs* of Ṣa'da. It is said to be the best of the *wādīs* of Khawlān (from Quḍā'a).<sup>253</sup>

We have already noted the cooperation between Madhḥij and Quḍā'a. Ḥujr b. Sa'd Abū Ra'tha al-Akbar was the commander of Madhḥij; Quḍā'a too, agreed unanimously to give him command; he was killed in the fight of Madhḥij and Quḍā'a against Hawāzin and Sulaym.<sup>254</sup>

'Umāra, the brother of 'Abbās b. Mirdās, was killed by Khawlān (Quḍā'a) in Ḥaql near Ṣa'da.<sup>255</sup> 'Umāra was killed in *yawm* al-Ghumayr in which Zubayd, Nahd and Khawlān were victorious.<sup>256</sup>

The military activity of Sulaym in the Yemen poses an intriguing question. It is plausible that the Sulamīs were escorting caravans, possibly in the service of the kings of Ḥīra.<sup>257</sup> Their role is comparable, presumably, to that of the king of Yamāma Hawdha b. 'Alī: he used to escort the messengers of Khusro until Najrān. Khusro gave him a

253 Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, p. 249, l. 10.

254 'Abbās b. Mirdās, *Dīwān*, p. 134 (he refers to Ḥujr as *sayyid al-fariqayni*); Hamdānī, *Iklil*, I, p. 227; see also pp. 174–5, 284, 290, 294, 362.

255 Yāqūt, s.v. Ḥaql; 'Abbās b. Mirdās, *Dīwān*, pp. 100, 137–8; Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, p. 243; Hamdānī, *Iklil*, I, 280. But cf. another version concerning the identity of this 'Umāra in Hamdānī, *Iklil*, I, p. 281: he was 'Umāra b. Abi 'Āmir, the brother of Mirdās b. Abi 'Āmir (read: Jāriya instead of: Ḥāritha).

256 Jāsir, "B. Sulaym", no. 7, p. 389=Hamdānī, *Sharḥ ad-dāmigha*, fol. 58, 61, 63 (I could not obtain this source). See also 'Amr b. Ma'di Karib, *Shi'r*, pp. 105–7=*Sharḥ ad-dāmigha*, 58: 'Amr participated in the *yawm* al-Ghumayr between the B. 'Awf from Khawlān and Sulaym as a confederate (*ḥalīf*) of 'Awf. Cf. the verses (in Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, p. 285) in which one of the B. Ṣuḥār b. Khawlān b. 'Amr b. al-Ḥāf b. Quḍā'a asks for aid against the Hawāzin and Sulaym; on the delegation of Khawlān to Ibn Dhī Yazan seeking aid against Hawāzin and Sulaym see Hamdānī, *Iklil*, I, pp. 364–5.

257 Incidentally, the road from Medina to the Yemen crossed the *ma'din* B. Sulaym. It then continued to al-Jarad – Najrān – Ṣan'ā', Bakrī, I, p. 12.

*qalansuwa* worth thirty thousand dirhams which was mentioned in a verse of A'shā.<sup>258</sup>

A rare report indicates that the role of Sulaym (and Hawāzin) was indeed similar to Hawdha's role. Abū l-Baqā' describes the relationship between Sulaym and Hawāzin on one hand and Hīra on the other saying that they used to conclude pacts with the kings of Hīra. They, nevertheless, were not submissive to these kings. They would take their merchandise and sell it for them at 'Ukāz and other markets. Thus, they (the tribesmen) profited with them. Sometimes, an individual or a group of them would come to the king (of Hīra), take part in his raids and share the spoils with him. Then they (i.e., the people of the tribe) would depart. The caravans of the kings laden with goods could not enter Najd or go beyond it unescorted by men of the tribes.<sup>259</sup>

258 I. Kalbi, *Jamh.*, fol. 216b (*wa-kāna yujīzu l-burda li-Kisrā ḥattā yaqa'a Najrāna* [sic]). However, according to a passage in *Aghānī*, XVI, 78–9 (XVII, 319 in the Cairo 1927–74 edition), quoted in Crone, *Meccan trade*, 49, n. 167, Hawdha took Kisrā's caravan only to the limits of Ḥanafi territory.

259 Kister 1968, p. 154=A. Baqā', *Manāqib*, II, p. 375: *wa-kānat Sulaym wa-Hawāzin tuwāthiqhum wa-lā tadīnu lahum, wa-ya'khudhūna lahumu t-tajā'ira fa-yabī'ūna lahum bi-'Ukāz wa-ghayrihā, fa-yuṣībūna ma'ahumu l-arbāḥa. Wa-rubbamā atā l-malika minhumu r-rajulu awī n-nafar fa-yashhadūna maghāziyahu wa-yuṣībūna mina l-ghanā'im wa-yanṣarifūna.* 'Amr ash-Sharīd (printed: 'Amr b. ash-Sharīd) was reportedly among the tribal leaders summoned by Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir to Hīra; he later visited the Persian emperor, *Iqd*, II, pp. 9, 14. We also hear of a punitive expedition against Sulaym dispatched by Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir. Its commander was called 'Amr b. Fartanā and he was aided by Ghatafān, *Lisān al-'arab*, s.v. *q.m.r.*, p. 115. The verses related to this affair belong to Abū 'Āmir, the grandfather of 'Abbās b. Mirdās or, according to another version, to Anas b. al-'Abbās (*sic*; the usual form is: 'Abbās), who was from the B. Ri'l.

## II

### The Ḥārith branch

The Ḥārith branch lived mainly along the western slopes of the *ḥarra*, though there is evidence of its presence on the eastern slopes as well.

Two clans will be discussed in Chs. V and VI, respectively: the B. Mu'āwiya b. al-Ḥārith b. Buhtha that settled in Medina and the B. Rabi'a b. Rifā'a b. al-Ḥārith b. Butha, mentioned in the sources only in connection with Mecca.

#### *The B. Zafar b. al-Ḥārith b. Buhtha*

The genealogical literature provides information about the descendants of only two of Zafar b. al-Ḥārith's several children.<sup>1</sup> The Muṭā'in b. Zafar were the clan (*raḥṭ*) of Ashras b. 'Abdallah, who was governor of Khurāsān in the time of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>2</sup> The Ka'b b. Zafar are reported to be part of the *Anṣār*.<sup>3</sup> A third son is found in the pedigree of the poet Abū Wajza (d. 130/747–8) who was from the B. Ḍabīs (or Ḍubays) b. Hilāl b. Qādim b. Zafar b. al-Ḥārith b. Buhtha.<sup>4</sup> His father was taken captive

1 I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 161b–162a; the word *baṭn* (written above the line) indicates that it was a tribal group on its own. The same applies to Rifā'a, Zafar's brother, whose descendants were also called *baṭn*; Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1195b.

2 The *jizya* had been levied from those who had embraced Islam; he abolished this practice.

3 See below, Ch. V, n. 10.

4 They could not be found elsewhere. The sources do not go beyond Qādim b. Zafar, I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 161b; Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1195b.

before Islam, when he was young, and sold into slavery at the market of Dhū l-Majāz.<sup>5</sup>

### *The B. Ka'b b. al-Ḥārith b. Buhtha*

Together with their brothers, the B. Ḥafṣ, the B. Ka'b inhabited *wādī* Ghurān northwest of Mecca. Much of what we know about the Ka'b is connected with two leaders, al-Munaqqa' (sometimes called: al-Muqanna') and Rāshid, both of whom were active in the time of the Prophet.

Ka'b b. al-Ḥārith had two children, 'Amal and Ghaḍb, both of whose descendants settled in Kūfa. The only descendant whose pedigree is reported in full is al-Munaqqa',<sup>6</sup> the most prominent member of his clan in the time of the Prophet. He appears in a verse of 'Abbās b. Mirdās<sup>7</sup> in connection with Sulaym's delegation to the Prophet.<sup>8</sup>

All the evidence on al-Munaqqa' is linked with his (and his clan's) participation in the conquest of Mecca. There is reference to his command over one hundred troops from his clan in a verse. Those warriors brought the total number of the Sulamī troops to one thousand.<sup>9</sup> According to the detailed report of Ibn al-Kalbī, a leader of the B. 'Uṣayya (one of the clans of the Imru'u l-Qays branch) promised the Prophet the support of a thousand warriors from Sulaym in the conquest of Mecca. In Qudayd

5 *Aghānī*, XI, pp. 79f; I. Ḥabīb, *Kunā sh-shu'arā'*, p. 284. Cf. I. Qutayba, *Shi'r*, II, pp. 702–3.

6 b. Mālīk b. Umayya b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Mallān b. 'Amal b. Ka'b.

7 Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1195b; I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 162a.

8 See Appendix D; I. Hishām, IV, p. 104; *Iṣāba*, IV, pp. 205–6, no. 8195; II, pp. 59–60, no. 1696. Al-Munaqqa', as he is called in Ibn Sa'd, seems to be the correct form of the name. But cf. the Umayyad poet from Kinda who was nicknamed *al-muqanna'*: he was very handsome; he used to veil himself because whenever he was unveiled, he was smitten by the evil eye, I. Qutayba, *Uyūn al-akhbār*, IV, p. 27. Ibn al-Kalbī (who was Ibn Sa'd's source) calls him al-Munaqqa', referring to the above verse, *Jamh.*, fol. 162a.

9 *Iṣāba*, VI, pp. 205–6, no. 8195; II, pp. 59–60, no. 1696. But cf. Appendix D.

there were only nine hundred Sulamī warriors. When the Prophet asked about the rest he was told that they had been left behind in the territory of the tribe for fear of an attack by the B. Kināna. The Prophet assured them that nothing undesirable would happen to them during that year and consequently, one hundred warriors met the Prophet in al-Hadda (see map: Haddat ash-Shām). They were under the command of al-Munaqqa' b. Mālīk.<sup>10</sup>

The record of the meeting place of the B. Ka'b with the Prophet conforms to the evidence on their territory. Al-Hadda<sup>11</sup> is near Ruhāt "after" (=north of) the *wādī* Fāṭima which was known in the old times as Marr az-Zahrān (see map). It was known as Haddat B. Jābir.<sup>12</sup> Ruhāt still exists today, located in a huge valley descending from *ḥarrat* B. Sulaym.<sup>13</sup>

The other Ka'b leader, Rāshid, is better known than al-Munaqqa'. He was linked with the worship of the idol Suwā'. There are conflicting reports on the identity of the custodians of the idol Suwā'. One report names the B. Liḥyān from Hudhayl, while another mentions a person from the Sulamī B. Ka'b. As in the case of al-'Uzzā in Nakhla, the custodianship was in Sulamī hands in the early Islamic period. This indicates that here, too, it was taken over by a Sulamī clan from the former custodians. This does not mean that the tribe of the former custodians ceased to worship the idol. Suwā' was also worshipped by the brother-clan

10 I. Sa'd, I, pp. 308–9, quoting Ibn al-Kalbi. The latter quotes "a man from the B. Sulaym from the B. ash-Sharid" (the leading house of the B. 'Uṣayya); *Iṣāba*, V, pp. 427–8, no. 7096, s.v. Qudad (or Qudar or Qadan) b. 'Ammār (see on him below, Ch. III, n. 23); see also the entries on al-Munaqqa' in *Iṣāba*, VI, p. 205, no. 8195 (al-Muqanna'), p. 226, no. 8250 (al-Munaqqa'; Ibn Ḥajar wonders, whether there was one person whose name was disputed or, perhaps, two persons; obviously the entries relate to the same person); *Uṣd al-ghāba*, IV, p. 421, seems to confuse him with Qudad b. 'Ammār and is followed in this by Dhahabī, *Tajrid*, II, p. 97, no. 1095. "A thousand" is no doubt a topos; cf. now Conrad 1987, 230f.

11 See above, Ch. I, n. 98.

12 *Manāsik*, p. 653, n. 7.

13 *Manāsik*, p. 415, n. 1.

of the B. Ka'b, the B. Zafar, as well as by the B. Hudhayl.<sup>14</sup> When the B. Hudhayl disassociated themselves from the *dīn Ismā'il* they began worshipping Suwā' in Ruhāt.<sup>15</sup> Another report tells that when the B. Muḍar b. Nizār responded to the call of 'Amr b. Luḥayy to worship the idols, he gave al-Hārith b. Tamīm b. Sa'd b. Hudhayl the idol called Suwā'. It was (later) located in Ruhāt, in the valley of Nakhla (*sic*, cf. map) and was worshipped by those of Muḍar who lived near it. The custodians of Suwā' were the B. Liḥyān.<sup>16</sup> As we have already suggested, the custodianship of Hudhayl preceded that of Sulaym.<sup>17</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī states

- 14 That the B. Hudhayl worshipped Suwā' in the time of the Prophet is shown by the stories of the Islamization of two Hudhalis called Sā'idā and 'Amr b. Sa'id. See on Sā'idā *Iṣāba*, III, pp. 7–8, no. 3040; I. Sa'd, I, p. 168; *Uṣd al-ghāba*, II, p. 245; cf. *Istī'āb*, II, p. 566, no. 876. See on 'Amr *Iṣāba*, IV, pp. 639–40, no. 5852; I. Sa'd, I, pp. 167–8; *Uṣd al-ghāba*, IV, p. 108. See also I. 'Arabī, *Muḥāḍara*, I, p. 71: the Prophet sent 'Amr b. al-Āṣ to "Suwā' Hudhayl"; I. Sayyid an-Nās, II, p. 185 (*wa-huwa ṣanam li-Hudhayl*); Azraqī, I, pp. 131–2. For a Hudhali named Suwā' see Wellhausen, *Reste*, p. 18. Cf. on Suwā' Grohmann, *Arabien*, p. 84; 'Abd ar-Raḥmān (N.) 1980, pp. 10, 17f. (I find it hard to accept the argument.)
- 15 I. Hishām, I, p. 80; Suhayli, I, p. 103, in his commentary on the above place in I. Hishām, quotes Ṭabari with additional details on the beginning of the cult of these idols; see also Zurqānī, II, pp. 348–9; Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, XVIII, p. 309, l. 3 from bottom.
- 16 I. Kalbī, *Aṣnām*, pp. 57, 9–10. Ibn al-Kalbī remarks that there is no mention of Suwā' in the poetry of Hudhayl, whereas it is mentioned in the verse of a man from the Yemen. See also Yāqūt, s.vv. Suwā', Wadd. It is noticeable that while the idol was given to a man from the B. Sa'd of Hudhayl, the custodians belonged to another branch, the B. Liḥyān b. Hudhayl (on this see below). See also the commentaries to Qur'ān, 71,23, where the idols Wadd, Suwā', Yaghūth, Ya'ūq and Naṣr are mentioned.
- 17 In the report on its demolition by 'Amr b. al-Āṣ it is said to be the idol of Hudhayl. However, the source is a Hudhali, who may have refrained from mentioning other tribes, Wāqidi, II, p. 870 (*ṣanam Hudhayl Suwā'*); Azraqī, I, p. 131 (quoting Wāqidi). The report mentions an encounter with an unnamed custodian who reportedly embraced Islam upon realizing that the idol was unable to protect itself. Incidentally, the report refers to Suwā's treasury (*bayt khizānatihi*) which had been demolished by 'Amr's comrades and



that Suwā' was worshipped by Hudhayl in Ruhāt in the vicinity of Yanbu'.<sup>18</sup> Yet another report mentions that Suwā' was in Na'mān. The same report goes on to relate that it was worshipped by the B. Kināna, Hudhayl, Muzayna and 'Amr b. Qays b. (*sic*) 'Aylān (i.e., Fahm and 'Adwān). Its custodians were the Hudhalī clan, B. Šāhila.<sup>19</sup>

The last custodian of Suwā' was originally called Zālim or, according to other versions, Ghāwī b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā or Zālim b. Ghāwī. The Prophet Islamized his name, calling him Rāshid b. 'Abdallah (or b. 'Abd Rabbihi or b. Rāshid). Other versions concerning his father's name mention Ḥaḥṣ and 'Abd Rabbihi.<sup>20</sup> The story of Rāshid's conversion to Islam follows a

found to be empty; see also Wāqidi, III, p. 970–1. Cf. on votive gifts cast in the Ḥaṭīm, "in the place of Zamzam" and the pit inside the Ka'ba near Hubal, which served as the treasury (*khizāna*), U. Rubin, "Places of worship in Mecca", forthcoming in *JSOI*. Also cf. above, Ch. I, the end of n. 200.

18 *Aṣnām*, pp. 9–10. Another report says that it was on the sea shore, Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, XVIII, p. 309; Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, II, fol. 210b. This could be similar to the mention of Yanbu'.

19 b. Kāhil b. al-Ḥārith b. Tamīm etc., I. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, p. 316. The B. Šāhila belonged to the Sa'd b. Hudhayl branch, while the B. Liḥyān belonged to the Liḥyān b. Hudhayl branch, I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, pp. 196–7; I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 37a. Incidentally, the Šāhila conform to the identity of the founder of the Suwā'-worship according to I. Kalbī, *Aṣnām*, p. 57: al-Ḥārith b. Tamīm b. Sa'd b. Hudhayl. *Wādī Na'mān* near Mecca was indeed inhabited by the B. 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith of Hudhayl who were the descendants of the above-mentioned al-Ḥārith b. Tamīm b. Sa'd, Yāqut, s.v. Na'mān; Bakrī, s.v. al-Luhaymā, IV, p. 1164, with a more precise location. On the 'Amr b. Qays 'Aylān = Fahm and 'Adwān see I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, pp. 243–4. And cf. the report which states that Suwā' belonged to Kināna, Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, I, p. 255, l. 3. The report locating Ruhāt near Yanbu' is said to be erroneous, *Manāsik*, p. 415, n. 1. See also the remark of Azraqī's modern editor, Malḥas, in Azraqī, I, p. 131, n. 4. The conflicting reports on the location of Suwā' are problematic. While confusion cannot be ruled out, it must be borne in mind that the territories of the tribes changed. And cf. 'Abbās 1973–7.

20 *Istī'āb*, II, pp. 504–5, no. 790; *Iṣāba*, II, pp. 434–5, no. 2519; *Usd al-ghāba*, II, p. 149; I. Sa'd, I, pp. 307–8; *Manāsik*, p. 350. See in Yāqūt, s.v. Hubal, verses of Rāshid which are said to relate to the destruction of the idols around the Ka'ba.

familiar pattern. Rāshid, who was the custodian of Suwā' in Ruhāt in the territory of the B. Ka'b,<sup>21</sup> was luckier than the Sulamī custodian of al-'Uzzā who was killed by Khālīd b. al-Walīd. Rāshid survived and even held important offices in the time of the Prophet. One day Rāshid saw two foxes licking the ground around Suwā'. Then they ate the gifts brought to Suwā' and urinated on the idol. Rāshid said in obvious contempt, "Is it possible for two foxes to urinate on the head of a god? Verily, he upon whom the foxes urinated was humiliated",<sup>22</sup> and he destroyed it. Then he came to the Prophet, who replaced his *Jāhili* name Ghawī b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā with Rāshid b. 'Abd Rabbihi. He embraced Islam, became a good Muslim and participated in the conquest of Mecca. The Prophet said in his praise, "The best of *qurā 'arabiyya* is Khaybar and the best of B. Sulaym is Rāshid". The Prophet reportedly gave him command of his tribe.<sup>23</sup> Although Ibn Sa'd does not give the chain of transmitters of this story, we shall see that it originated with Rāshid himself and was transmitted by his family.

Many records are linked to the letter given to Rāshid by the Prophet. The report in Ibn Sa'd has only that the Prophet gave Rāshid (the land in) Ruhāt which included a well called '*Ayn ar-Rasūl*. Samhūdī, who has

21 Concerning the idol it is reported that it had the shape of a woman, Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, XVIII, p. 309, quoting Wāqidī.

22 I. Sa'd, I, pp. 307–8: [...] *a-rabbun yabūlu tha'labāni bi-ra'sihi la-qad dhalla man bālat 'alayhi th-tha'ālibu*. See Jamāl ad-Dīn Ibn Hishām, *Mughnī l-labīb*, ed. Māzin al-Mubārak and Muḥammad 'Alī Ḥamdallah, Damascus 1969, I, p. 111 (*bi-ra'sihi* means '*alā ra'sihi*'). Cf. the proverb *la-qad dhalla man bālat 'alayhi th-tha'ālibu*, in Bakrī, *Faṣl al-maqāl*, p. 184. Bakrī remarks that according to one version, the above verse was 'Abbās b. Mirdās'; however, he quotes another opinion as well: it was Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī's: he saw in the *Jāhiliyya* a fox urinating on their idol.

23 *Wa-'aqada lahu 'ala qawmihi*. This could be in conflict with the above records on the role of al-Munaqqa'. See on the term *qurā 'arabiyya* Shākir Maḥmūd Muḥammad, "Qurā 'Arabiyya", in *al-'Arab*, II, ix (June 1968), pp. 769–97; 'Abdallah al-Wuhaybī, "Qurā 'arabiyya wa-'alāqatuhā bi-kalimat 'arab", in *al-'Arab* 4, xi (July–August 1970), pp. 983–1017.

the same report, gives Rāshid himself as the authority for it and records a few more details. In Samhūdī's report Rāshid actually says that he went to the Prophet to ask him for land in Ruhāt. There is also a more detailed description of that land:

And he (i.e., Rāshid) mentioned his going to the Prophet so that he would grant him land in Ruhāt. And he granted him land in the upper part of Ruhāt.

*The upper part of Ruhāt (al-ma'lāt min Ruhāt) was precisely where the idol Suwā' was located, as is stated elsewhere in the same report. Perhaps "granting" here means only the recognition of Rāshid's rights. Of course the Prophet did not legitimize the continuation of the cult of Suwā'. Samhūdī's report makes it clear that the tract of land was situated in a valley. Its size was one heat of a horse and three stone-throwings. The Prophet also gave Rāshid a small water skin full of water, spat into it and said, "Pour the water on the edges of the land and do not prevent people from using the surplus" (of the water of the well which was to be created). Rāshid did so and the water began to pour forth uninterruptedly; he collected it in a well and near it he planted dates. Then the whole settlement of Ruhāt began drinking from it. The people called it Mā' ar-rasūl. The people of Ruhāt washed themselves in its water and used it for healing.<sup>24</sup>*

24 Samh., s.v. Ruhāt: wa-'an Rāshid b. 'Abd Rabbihi: kāna Suwā' bi-l-Ma'lāti min Ruhāt yadīnu lahā(!) Hudhayl wa-B. Zafar min Sulaym [...], wa-dhakara khurūjahū ilā n-nabiyyi ṣ. li-yuqī'ahu qaṭī'atan bi-Ruhāt, fa-aqī'a'ahu bi-l-Ma'lāti min Ruhāt sha'wa l-faras wa-rimāyatahu thalātha marrātin bi-ḥajar, wa-a'ṭahu idāwatan mamlū'atan min mā' wa-tafala fihā, wa-qāla lahu: farrighhā fī anḥā'i l-qaṭī'a wa-lā tamna'i n-nāsa fuḍūlahā, fa-fa'ala fa-ja'ala l-mā' yaghubbu, (read: ya'ubbu) fa-jammahu fa-gharasa 'alayhā (=al-bi'r, which is mentioned in the full version of this report) n-nakhla wa-ṣārat Ruhāt kulluhā tashrabu minhu. Wa-sammāhā n-nāsu mā'a r-rasūl ṣ., wa-ahl Ruhāt yaghtasilūna minhā wa-yastashfūna bihā. The magical element appears in connection with the Dathina letter too; see below, Ch. VIII, n. 51; *Manāsik*, p. 600. (Wa-tafala fihā in our letter makes more

The document itself (in it, the recipient is named Rāshid b. ‘Abd) defines a considerably smaller tract of land. It is laconic and similar in style to other documents of the Prophet:

And the Messenger of God wrote to Rāshid b. ‘Abd as-Sulamī granting him land to the extent of two bowshots and one stone’s throw. No one is allowed to dispute his right to it, and whoever disputes has no claim, whereas his (i.e., Rāshid’s) right is verified. Written by Khālīd b. Sa‘īd.

The document<sup>25</sup> is also preserved in another source, with a slightly different wording; this source purports to give the text of the document itself, not merely a paraphrase.<sup>26</sup>

sense than *qad tafala ‘alayhā* in the Dathina letter.) A place called al-Ma‘lāt is the place of Suwā’ in the report of Ibn Zabāla, quoted in *Iṣāba*, III, p. 434 (via Abū Nu‘aym). Yāqūt, s.v. al-Ma‘lāt, speaks of another Ma‘lāt which he defines as a place between Medina and Badr, adding that between al-Ma‘lāt and Badr was al-Uthayl; see also Muqaddasi, p. 107 l. 1; Wuhaybi, *Northern Hijāz*, p. 237.

- 25 I. Sa‘d, I, p. 274; Wellhausen, *Skizzen* IV, Arabic text p. 14, no. 34; trans. p. 116: *wa-kataba rasūlu ‘llāhi ṣ. li-Rāshid b. ‘Abd as-Sulamī annahu a‘tāhu ghalwatayni bi-sahm wa-ghalwatan bi-ḥajar bi-Ruhāt, lā yuḥāqquhu fihā aḥadun wa-man ḥāqqahu fa-lā ḥaqqa lahu fa-ḥāqquhu ḥaqq. Wa-kataba Khālīd b. Sa‘īd.* Cf. Ḥamīdullah, *Wathā‘iq*, no. 213, pp. 309–10; I. Tūlūn, *I‘lām as-sā‘ilīna*, p. 145. *Ghalwat sahm* or *rimyat sahm* is the distance covered by one shot of the arrow. See I. Khurradadhbīh, p. 104 on the straits of Bosforos and Dardanel the width of which is *ghalwat sahm*. The Prophet granted a *rimyat sawf* in Wādī l-Qurā, Ali 1956, p. 43=Balādh., *Futūḥ*, p. 35, l. 4.
- 26 *Manāsik*, pp. 350–1, quoted from az-Zubayr b. Bakkār (‘Atiq b. Ya‘qūb (b. Ṣudayq b. Mūsā b. ‘Abdallāh b. az-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām, I. A. Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, VII, p. 46, no. 261) (‘Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad al-Ḥizāmī (read: al-Ḥazmī, I. A. Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, V, p. 369, no. 1727) (his father (Muḥammad b. Abi Bakr b. ‘Amr b. Ḥazm; see Horovitz 1927–8, II, pp. 24–5). The document is quoted here in full: *qaṭī‘atu rasūli ‘llāhi ṣ. li-Rāshid b. ‘Abd Rabbihi as-Sulamī: bi-‘smi ‘llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīm. Hādhā mā a‘tā Muḥammad rasūlu ‘llāhi ṣ. li-Rāshid b. ‘Abd [Rabbihi] as-Sulamī. A‘tāhu ghalwata sahm* (one, not two - L.)

The *Manāsik*<sup>27</sup> also records, with the same chain of transmitters, the text of the letter of the Prophet granting az-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām *wādī* Suwāriq (see map) near Suwāriqiyya. The family of az-Zubayr had lands in Ruhāt as well. It seems that the letter az-Zubayr was kept by his offspring along with other documents. The first sentence of the report concerning the Suwāriq document also mentions other grants made by the Prophet: *wa-ḥaddathani [...] qaṭā’i’ min qaṭā’i’i n-nabiyyi ṣ., minhā qaṭi’a fihā [...]* (the text of the document follows):

The grant of the Messenger of God to Rāshid b. ‘Abd Rabbihi as-Sulamī. In the name of God The Merciful, the Compassionate. This is what Muḥammad the Messenger of God gave to Rāshid b. ‘Abd [Rabbihi] as-Sulamī: he gave him one distance of a bowshot and a stone’s throw in Ruhāt. Whoever argues with him has no right whereas his right is verified. Khālīd b. Sa’īd wrote.

The *Manāsik* also reports that the Prophet visited the village of Ruhāt. He came there from Dhāt ‘Irq (which he had not entered) and created its spring by hitting the ground with his stick. Ruhāt included estates of the families of az-Zubayr and Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Ja’farī and their spring is called ‘*Ayn an-Nabi*.<sup>28</sup> This is followed by a report going back to a person called Abū Khuzā’a ar-Ruhāṭī: one of the B. Zafar from Sulaym met the Prophet and asked his permission to dig a well in Ruhāt (*an yasqiyahu bi-Ruhāt ‘aynan*). The Prophet gave him a small water skin filled with water which he poured on a flat rock down the *wādī* Ruhāt. The spring thus created supplies water day and night without an aqueduct and requiring no labour. Today – the report continues – it is *li-khalqi ‘llāhi*, “the property of all the people” (probably a *waqf*), of the nomad and the

*wa-ghalwata ḥajar bi-Ruhāt, fa-man ḥāqqahu fa-lā ḥaqqa lahu wa-ḥaqquhu ḥaqq. Wa-kataba Khālīd b. Sa’īd.*

27 Pp. 349–51.

28 The text is difficult: Ruhāt was not in the direction of the *qibla* in relation to Dhāt ‘Irq. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf lived in the ‘Abbasid period, *Manāsik*, pp. 323–4.

sedentary, the Qurashī and the merchant. The fruit grown on it is carried to Dhāt 'Irq, to Mecca and to Ṭā'if. The skin<sup>29</sup> is reminiscent of the one given to Rāshid; indeed, Rāshid was from the B. Ka'b and this report speaks of a man from their brother clan, the B. Zafar. However, at a certain point in time, the distinction between the brother clans may have disappeared: the report in the *Manāsik* on the miraculous creation of the spring by the Prophet and the granting of the land around it to Rāshid goes back to a man from Zafar who was a descendant of Rāshid.

The scribe who wrote Rāshid's letter was Khālīd b. Sa'īd b. al-Āṣ.<sup>30</sup> This letter, and the others written by him, could not have been written before the beginning of 7 A.H. since that was the time at which he came from Ethiopia to Medina. At the time of Khālīd's arrival, the Prophet was still in Khaybar, which had just been occupied (Muḥarram, 7 A.H.).<sup>31</sup>

It is reported that when the Prophet appointed Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb as the governor of Najrān and put him in charge of prayer and war, Rāshid b. 'Abd Rabbihi was sent (to Najrān) as a judge and was entrusted with the handling of complaints about official abuse (*amīran 'alā l-qaḍā' wa-l-mazālim*).<sup>32</sup>

### *The B. 'Abs b. Rifā'a b. al-Ḥārith b. Buhtha*

Ibn al-Kalbī reports the following about this clan: Rifā'a b. al-Ḥārith b. Buhtha begot 'Abs, 'Abs begot 'Abd and Murra. 'Abd begot Jāriya.<sup>33</sup> From them came 'Abbās b. Mirdās b. Abī 'Āmir<sup>34</sup> b. Jāriya, the poet and

29 *Wa-a'ṭāhu idāwatan mamlū'atan min mā' wa-tafala fihā* etc. Cf. above, n. 24.

30 Cf. below, Chs. VIII and IX on the letters of Sa'īd b. Sufyān ar-Ri'li and "Ḥarām b. 'Abd 'Awf", respectively.

31 Khālīd also wrote the letters of B. 'Amr from Ḥimyar (I. Sa'd, I, p. 265), of B. Asad (*op. cit.*, pp. 269–70), of al-'Addā' b. Khālīd b. Hawdhā' (*op. cit.*, p. 273; cf. above, Ch. I, n. 158), of the Jewish B. Ghādiya, (*op. cit.*, pp. 278–9) of the Jewish B. 'Arīḍ (*op. cit.*, p. 279) and of Thaqīf (*op. cit.*, pp. 284–5). See also Kattānī, *Tarātib*, I, pp. 125, 115–6.

32 Unfortunately, I have lost the reference.

33 *Jamh.*, fol. 161a-b. See also I. Ḥabīb, *Mukhtalif*, p. 101.

34 Abū 'Āmir's name was 'Amr; see the verse of Khufāf b. Nudba (*Aghānī*, XVI, p. 145, l.

horseman, and Hubayra, Jaz', Mu'āwiya and 'Amr sons of Mirdās. Their mother was the poetess al-Khansā' bint 'Amr, but she was not 'Abbās' mother.<sup>35</sup> Murra b. 'Abs bore Sālim, al-Ḥārith and 'Attāb. From them came 'Abbād b. Shaybān b. Jābir b. Sālim b. Murra, the confederate of the Quraysh group B. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim. From them also came Dubayya b. Ḥaramī, who was the custodian of al-'Uzzā in *batn* (i.e., *wādī*) Nakhla. He was her custodian when the Messenger of God sent to her Khālīd b. al-Walīd.<sup>36</sup> The B. 'Abs (or 'Abd 'Abs) b. Rifā'a figure prominently both in the stories of the *ayyām* and in the letters of the Prophet.<sup>37</sup>

The genealogical information of Ibn Ḥazm<sup>38</sup> differs from that found in Ibn al-Kalbī. He says that from the offspring of al-Ḥārith b. Buhtha b. Sulaym came the B. Dhakwān b. Rifā'a b. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥuyayy b. al-Ḥārith b. Buhtha b. Sulaym, one of the clans cursed by the Messenger of God because they killed the people of Bi'r Ma'ūna. From them came 'Abbās b. Mirdās b. Abī 'Āmir (some said: Abī Ghālib – an error, L.) b. Jāriya b. 'Abd b. 'Abs b. Rifā'a b. al-Ḥārith b. Buhtha. This passage is problematic: the pedigree of the clan does not match the pedigree of 'Abbās, the latter pedigree being identical to that reported by Ibn al-Kalbī. Nevertheless, the information of Ibn Ḥazm may reflect a later shift in the genealogy of the clan.<sup>39</sup>

6) addressing 'Abbās (*sic*, without the definite article) b. Mirdās b. 'Amr. Abū 'Āmir was nicknamed *muqaṭṭi' al-awṭād*, "the one who cuts wooden pegs into small pieces" (i.e., the destroyer of chiefs), *Aghānī*, XIII, p. 70, l. 18.

35 Cf. Abū 'Ubayda, quoted in the *Iṣāba*, III, p. 634, who says that al-Khansā' was his mother; see Appendix E, n. 102. G. von Grunebaum, *EP*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-'Abbās b. Mirdās, says that al-Khansā' was 'Abbās' stepmother.

36 Other sources have 'Abd 'Abs instead of 'Abd b. 'Abs; see e.g., I. Khaldūn, *Ibar*, II, p. 307, l. 5 from bottom. Cf. Wellhausen, *Reste*, pp. 35, 38.

37 See below, Chs. VII and VIII. On the other hand there is extensive evidence concerning their links with Quraysh; see below, Ch. VI, n. 106.

38 *Ansāb*, p. 263.

39 Incidentally, it should be noted that according to Ibn al-Kalbī, al-Ḥārith b. Buhtha had

The evidence on this clan is focuses on its leader ‘Abbās b. Mirdās. At the beginning of 7 A.H., ‘Abbās was still hostile to the Prophet. He came to Mecca to inform the Qurashīs that the Prophet had marched on Khaybar. He predicted that “Muḥammad would not escape” and placed a bet that Ghaṭafān (*sic*) would be victorious.<sup>40</sup> In a later period ‘Abbās explained to ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb that the Jews had been his friends in the *Jāhiliyya*; he would camp with them and accept their hospitality. A man like me, he explained, is grateful for a favour bestowed on him.<sup>41</sup>

‘Abbās embraced Islam between the conquests of Khaybar and Mecca. A more precise date is suggested by a report which dates his conversion shortly before the conquest of Mecca.<sup>42</sup> Both ‘Abbās b. Mirdās and Ḥajjāj b. ‘Ilāt (from the B. Bahz of the Imru’u l-Qays branch) are mentioned in the reports on the conquest of Khaybar: both appear in Mecca at that time. However, they differed in their attitude to the Prophet. Ḥajjāj was already a Muslim while ‘Abbās was still loyal to his Jewish friends.

The battle of Ḥunayn, and the famous *mu’allafa qulūbuhum* incident with ‘Abbās that followed, provide additional evidence on the role of ‘Abbās. His leadership is implied in his statement that he himself, and indeed Sulaym as a whole, were not prepared to heed the Prophet’s request and return the booty to those defeated. However, his fellow-tribesmen rejected his position saying that everything at their disposal belonged to the Prophet. ‘Abbās reportedly complained that they had weakened him.<sup>43</sup> This incident seems to have attracted much

a son called Ḥuyayy and Ḥuyayy had a son called al-Ḥārith; his information does not include details on the children of al-Ḥārith b. Ḥuyayy because he concentrates on the descendants of ‘Abs b. Rifā’a. The Dhakwān of Bi’r Ma’ūna were presumably the Dhakwān b. Tha’laba; see below, Ch. VI, n. 147.

40 Wāqidi, II, pp. 701–2. One expects to find “the Jews and their allies from Ghaṭafān” rather than “Ghaṭafān” alone.

41 *Aghānī*, XIII, p. 71, l. 4 from bottom: *innahum kānū akhillā’ī fī l-jāhiliyya wa-kānū qawman anzilu bihim fa-yukrimūnānī, wa-mithlī yashkuru mā šunī’a ilayhi mina l-jamīl*; I. Hishām, III, pp. 211, 212; Samh., II, s.v. ash-Shazāt; *Aghānī*, XIX, p. 95, l. 19.

42 *Sīra ḥalabiyya*, III, p. 121, l. 5.

43 I. Hishām, IV, p. 132: *ammā anā wa-B. Sulaym fa-lā. Fa-qālat B. Sulaym: balā, mā kāna*



attention.<sup>44</sup> ‘Abbās originally received only forty camels from the booty, but later the number was raised to one hundred.<sup>45</sup>

The Prophet placed ‘Abbās in charge of the *ṣadaqāt* of Sulaym and Māzin, sons of Maṣṣūr.<sup>46</sup>

*lanā fa-huwa li-rasūli ‘llāhi ṣ. Qāla: yaqūlu ‘Abbās b. Mirdās li-B. Sulaym: wahhantumūnī.*

44 See Bakrī, *Faṣl al-maqāl*, p. 240; *Khizāna*, I, 152–3.

45 Ibn al-Qayyim, *Zād* (in the margin of *Zurqānī*), IV, p. 367, l. 8. Wāqidi, III, p. 946, l. 4 from bottom, has: four instead of forty, which seems to be an error. Wāqidi, p. 947, has a different version: the number was raised to fifty. See also *Iqd*, I, pp. 276–7 (‘Abbās originally received fifty, then Bilāl gave him more until he was contented); Ḥuṣārī, *Zahr*, II, pp. 938–9 (‘Abbās received forty; ‘Alī offered to complete the number to one hundred etc.). Wāqidi has a meaningful remark on the effect of ‘Abbās’ verses: *fa-faẓi‘a minhā unās, wa-qālū: amara bi-‘Abbās yumaththalu bihi*; but it seems that it is better to read it as an imperative: *mur bi-‘Abbās yumaththalu bihi*. Wāqidi refers to the state of the sources concerning the Prophet’s grants in the following words: *wa-qadi ‘khtulifa ‘alaynā fimā a‘ṭā rasūlu ‘llāhi ṣ. yawma‘idhin li-n-nās*. On forty as a literary topos cf. now Conrad 1987, 230.

46 Balādh., *Ansāb*, I, p. 530, no. 1067.

### III

## The Imru'u l-Qays branch

It seems that there is more evidence on the Imru'u l-Qays branch than there is on the other branches. This could indicate that the Imru'u l-Qays was the most important branch.

Imru'u l-Qays b. Buhtha begot Khufāf, 'Awf and Taym who is also called Bahz.<sup>1</sup> All three were the eponyms of tribal groups, each of the first two comprising a few clans.<sup>2</sup>

### *The B. Khufāf b. Imri'i l-Qays*

The B. Khufāf b. Imri'i l-Qays tribal group comprised the following clans: B. 'Uṣayya, B. Nāṣira, B. Mālik and B. 'Amīra. All the eponyms were sons of Khufāf.

### *The B. 'Uṣayya*

The B. 'Uṣayya comprised four subdivisions. Yaqaẓa b. 'Uṣayya had four sons: Riyāḥ (who was 'Amr/ash-Sharīd's father), 'Awf, Mālik (whose nickname was *ad-Daffā'*) and 'Abdallah. Each of his sons was the eponym of a separate subdivision of 'Uṣayya.

1 I. Kalbi, *Jamh.*, fol. 157b.

2 Cf. the verses of Shammākh, *Dīwān*, pp. 122-3, which are unintelligible without reference to the minute details of the genealogical system of Sulaym.

*The B. ash-Sharīd/ʿAmr b. Riyāḥ b. Yaḡaḡa*: There is rich evidence concerning a few prominent persons from the B. ash-Sharīd. Muʿāwiya and Jabbār (nicknamed al-Farrār), sons of al-Ḥakam and their brothers seem to have played the most important role among the Sharīd shortly before Islam and in the early Islamic period.

Al-Farrār (“the coward”; literally: “he who flees from the battlefield”) ash-Sharīdī is mentioned in a verse of ʿAbbās b. Mirdās as one of the members of a Sulamī delegation to the Prophet.<sup>3</sup> Like al-Munaqqaʿ (who is mentioned in another verse by the same poet presumably referring to the same delegation), he suggests a link between the delegation and the conquest of Mecca. Al-Farrār was the nickname of Jabbār b. al-Ḥakam.<sup>4</sup>

According to one report, Jabbār came together with his brothers in the delegation of Sulaym. The *Iṣāba*<sup>5</sup> quotes this report from Ibn as-Sakan “and others” (or: “and another source”). The *isnād* goes back to the nephew of Jabbār, Kathīr b. Muʿāwiya b. al-Ḥakam (his father. Unfortunately, the report is adduced in a very abridged form: “I came to the Prophet as a delegate together with six of my brothers” (*wafadtu ʿalā n-nabī ṣ. anā wa-sitta min ikhwatī*). Jabbār took part in the conquest of Mecca, in the battle of Ḥunayn and in the siege of Ṭāʾif. One report<sup>6</sup>

3 See Appendix D.

4 *Iṣāba*, II, p. 13, no. 1558 and *Uṣd al-ghāba*, I, p. 366 have both: Ḥibbān b. al-Ḥakam (they quote Abū ʿAlī al-Ghassānī; see ʿUmari, *Buḥūth*, p. 65); the same appears in the *Muḥabbar*, pp. 499–500: Ḥibbān b. al-Ḥakam b. Mālik b. Khalīd b. Ṣakhr b. ash-Sharīd; Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1198a: Ḥibbān b. al-Ḥakam, the carrier of the *liwāʾ* of Sulaym on the Day of Ḥunayn. See also *Iṣāba*, II, p. 220, no. 2129, where Ḥayyān b. Ṣakhr is rightly corrected to Jabbār b. Ṣakhr (Ṣakhr was one of his ancestors; see above in this note); however, the *nisba* Salamī should be corrected: Sulamī. On him, see also *Iqd*, I, pp. 139–40 (al-Farrār as-Sulamī); I. Qutayba, *Uyūn al-akhbār*, I, p. 164 (al-Farrār as-Sulamī).

5 IV, pp. 587–8, no. 5738.

6 I. Saʿd, I, pp. 307–9. Cf. below, n. 25.

mentions him as one of the three Sulamī commanders who replaced the deceased commander of the Sulamīs Qidr b. 'Ammār on the way to the meeting with the Prophet at Qudayd.

There is evidence of a link between Mu'āwiya and Medina. The *Iṣāba*, quoting the *Istī'āb*, has: *kāna yaskunu Banī Sulaym wa-yanzilu l-Madīna*. Jāsir, who quotes from another edition of the *Iṣāba*, has: *kāna yaskunu fī Banī Sulaym wa-yanzilu l-Madīna*. However, the text of the *Istī'āb* is: *kāna yanzilu l-Madīna wa-yaskunu fī B. Sulaym*. This seems to be smoother: he used to live in Medina and, while there, he lived among the B. Sulaym.<sup>7</sup> Further in the *Istī'āb* entry it is said that he is listed among the people of Medina (*ma'dūd fī ahli l-Madīna*). Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ<sup>8</sup> also lists him among the Sulamī companions of the Prophet who lived in Medina. Al-Baghawī<sup>9</sup> reported that he lived (*sakana*) in Medina but Bukhārī said that he is listed among the people of the Ḥijāz.<sup>10</sup>

The entries on Mu'āwiya and on one of his brothers called 'Alī include some additional evidence. There is a vague indication that 'Alī b. al-Ḥakam (and presumably Mu'āwiya as well) fought as horsemen on the side of the Prophet in an unspecified battle: some dictionaries of Companions adduce a *ḥadīth* going back to Kathīr b. Mu'āwiya b. al-Ḥakam < his father, according to which his brother 'Alī was injured while leaping on horesback over a ditch; he was miraculously healed by the Prophet.<sup>11</sup>

7 *Iṣāba*, VI, p. 148; Jāsir, *Qaṭā'i*, no. 3, pp. 177–8; *Istī'āb*, III, p. 1414, no. 2433. However, this is uncertain.

8 *Tabaqāt*, p. 50.

9 In the *Iṣāba*, VI, p. 148.

10 Note his and his son's (Kathir) activity in the field of *ḥadīth*. Considering his status in his tribe it is quite surprising to find Mu'āwiya in the list of the *ahl aṣ-ṣuffa*, A. Nu'aym, *Ḥilya*, II, pp. 33, no. 131. Cf. on the *ahl aṣ-ṣuffa* the illuminating passage from Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, II, p. 243a, quoted by Kister 1981, p. 256.

11 See e.g. *Iṣāba*, IV, pp. 562–3, no. 5687. See the *ḥadīth* of Mu'āwiya b. al-Ḥakam in Aḥmad, V, 447–9 (*musnad al-anṣār*); III, p. 443 (*musnad al-makkiyyīna*). In the entry on 'Alī b. al-Ḥakam, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (*Istī'āb*, III, p. 1089; cf. *Usd al-ghāba*, IV, pp. 15, 41–2)

Mu'āwiya b. al-Ḥakam received a letter from the Prophet in which a place called Bayḍān is mentioned. In addition, the Sharīd are mentioned in connection with several localities in the land of Sulaym, including, presumably, the Thaniyyat ash-Sharīd near Medina.<sup>12</sup> There are two references to the animals owned by this family. The *Iṣāba*<sup>13</sup> has an entry on 'Umar b. al-Ḥakam, who is said to be the brother of Mu'āwiya b. al-Ḥakam and his brothers. One *ḥadīth*<sup>14</sup> tells that 'Umar fulfilled his mother's oath to slaughter a slaughter-camel near the Ka'ba. There is also reference to sheep. Ibn Manda and Abū Nu'aym<sup>15</sup> adduce from Mālik b. Anas,<sup>16</sup> with an *isnād* going back to 'Umar b. al-Ḥakam, an autobiographical report on how he came to the Prophet and told him that he had slapped a slave-girl who lost a sheep from the flock she was tending.<sup>17</sup>

Another prominent warrior from the Sharīd was Khufāf b. Nudba. There is evidence of his participation in the battles of Mecca, Ḥunayn and Ṭā'if. In the conquest of Mecca he carried one of the banners of Sulaym.<sup>18</sup>

cautiously suggests that he is identical to 'Alī as-Sulamī, the grandfather of Khadij b. Sidra b. 'Alī from the people of Qubā'.

12 See Appendix B.

13 IV, pp. 587–8, no. 5738.

14 I. Sa'd (Wāqidi) (‘Aṭā’ b. Yasār) (‘Umar b. al-Ḥakam.

15 In the *Uṣd al-ghāba*, IV, p. 52.

16 See Zurqānī, *Sharḥ muwaṭṭa'*, V, p. 13.

17 We are also told that 'Umar died in 57 A.H. While Abū Nu'aym supposedly left this report without comment, Ibn Manda, according to the *Uṣd al-ghāba*, said that Mālik was wrong: the correct name is Mu'āwiya b. al-Ḥakam, as in Ibn al-Madīnī, al-Bukhārī and others. The *Iṣāba*, IV, p. 588; VI, p. 149 similarly says that there is unanimity that Mu'āwiya, not 'Umar, is meant here. This was also Ibn 'Abd al-Barr's opinion: there was no companion called 'Umar b. al-Ḥakam, just Mu'āwiya b. al-Ḥakam; see Zurqānī, *loc. cit.* See also Aḥmad, V, p. 447, l. 27 (Mu'āwiya b. al-Ḥakam).

18 The wording of Ibn al-Kalbi's report in the *Iṣāba* (s.v., II, p. 336), which suggests that he carried *the* banner of Sulaym in the conquest, seems less precise. Cf. I. Sa'd, IV, p. 274, who says in the entry on Khufāf that in the conquest of Mecca he carried "the other banner

*The B. 'Awf b. Yaqāza:* The eponym of the B. 'Awf b. Yaqāza was ash-Sharīd's uncle. Uncertain evidence links them to the *ma'din* B. Sulaym.<sup>19</sup> However, if we assume that the above pedigree is abridged, a link with 'Awf b. Yaqāza can be found: the names Ḥabīb and 'Awf appear in the pedigree of a governor of Baṣra in the late Umayyad period.<sup>20</sup>

A warrior from the B. 'Awf b. Yaqāza fought in Ḥunayn and Ṭā'if (and presumably in the conquest of Mecca as well).<sup>21</sup>

*The B. 'Abdallah b. Yaqāza:* 'Abdallah had two sons, Mu'ayṭ and 'Ujra. Ibn al-Kalbī mentions only one person from this group, Hawdha b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Ujra on whom he reports that he took part in the conquest of Mecca.<sup>22</sup>

of Sulaym". Khufāf's father was 'Umayr (Nudba was his mother) b. al-Ḥārith b. ash-Sharīd b. Riyāḥ b. Yaqāza b. 'Uṣayya. Khufāf was the cousin of al-Khansā', Ṣakhr and Mu'āwiya, children of 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith b. ash-Sharīd, I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 261; *Uṣd al-ghāba*, II, p. 118; *Istī'āb*, II, p. 450, no. 674; *Iṣāba*, II, p. 336, no. 2275; I. Sa'd, IV, p. 275; Dhahabī, *Tajrīd*, I, p. 161, no. 1664; I. Qutayba, *Shi'r*, I, pp. 341–2; I. Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, pp. 283, 309–10; *Khizāna*, IV, pp. 15–9; *Aghānī*, XVI, pp. 139–45. The *Aghānī* (p. 139) says that his father's name was 'Amr (confusing him with the father of al-Khansā', Ṣakhr and Mu'āwiya), while another source (*Istī'āb*) has both names: [...] b. 'Umayr b. 'Amr(!).

- 19 The group from Bali (a division of Quḍā'a) that inhabited the *ma'din* adopted a Sulamī genealogy and became B. Aktham b. 'Awf b. Ḥabīb b. 'Uṣayya. But the books of genealogy do not seem to mention a Ḥabīb among the children of 'Uṣayya, I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 158a–159a; I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 261.
- 20 I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 158b–159b; I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, *loc. cit.*: Abū l-Āj Kathīr b. 'Abdallah b. Farwa b. al-Ḥārith b. Khuthaym (I. Ḥazm: Ḥantam, an error) b. 'Abd b. Ḥabīb b. Mālīk b. 'Awf b. Yaqāza, the governor of Baṣra. He was in his office in 120/738 under Yūsuf b. 'Umar, Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, VII, pp. 159, 240–1.
- 21 I. Hishām, IV, p. 113. Ḍamḍam b. al-Ḥārith b. Jusham b. 'Abd b. Ḥabīb b. Mālīk b. 'Awf b. Yaqāza b. 'Uṣayya retaliated at Ḥunayn for the death of a man from the B. ash-Sharīd. Sometimes he is called Ḍamra, e.g. *Iṣāba*, III, p. 46.
- 22 I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 158b–159a. In addition, there is a record of a marriage link with

*The B. Mālik b. Yaqaḥ:* Mālik b. Yaqaḥ begot Riyāḥ and Riyāb. The only member of this subdivision mentioned by Ibn al-Kalbī is Qidr b. ‘Ammār who came to the Prophet as a representative of his clan.<sup>23</sup> The Mālik b. Yaqaḥ participated in the battle of Marj aṣ-Ṣuffar during the conquest of Syria.<sup>24</sup>

Qidr was in command of the Sulamī army on the way to Qudayd; he was the Prophet’s candidate for command and is said to have been their commander in the *Jāhiliyya*.<sup>25</sup>

The subdivisions of ‘Uṣayya (and a clan from the Mālik b. Khufāf) are mentioned in verses of Hawdha b. al-Ḥārith from the ‘Abdallāh b. Yaqaḥ concerning the allocation of the ‘aṭā’ in the time of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Al-Ḥārith complained to ‘Umar that Juthaym (read: Khuthaym), ash-Sharīd, Riyāḥ and Ṭarūd were summoned (to receive the ‘aṭā’) before him and his group.<sup>26</sup> There is an entry on “Khuthaym” in the *Iṣāba*<sup>27</sup> which refers to the entry on Hawdha. Ibn Ḥajar must have assumed that Khuthaym was the name of a person. But it is obvious that in this case a tribal group, not an individual, is meant. Khuthaym appears in the pedigree of the aforementioned Sulamī who was the governor of Baṣra in the time of Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik.<sup>28</sup> As his pedigree reaches ‘Awf b.

Hawdha’s sister Qayla: she was the mother of an important warrior from the B. ‘Amīra b. Khufāf, namely Bishr b. Qays or of his son Mālik, I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 158; Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1188b. On the proposed identification of Hawdha b. al-Ḥārith with a recipient of a letter from the Prophet see below, Ch. VIII, n. 38.

23 I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 159a; Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1189b.

24 See below, I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 158a.

25 But cf. I. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, p. 500, where Jabbar (printed: Ḥibbān) b. al-Ḥakam is said to have been their commander in the *Jāhiliyya*.

26 See *Iṣāba*, VI, p. 561, no. 9017; I. Sa’d, IV, p. 276; *Uṣd al-ghāba*, V, p. 74; Dhahabī, *Tajrīd*, II, p. 124, no. 1410.

27 II, p. 265, no. 2226.

28 See also Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1189b; Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, VII, pp. 159, 240, 241. One of the sources of Ḥajarī (p. 43) was Jabr b. ‘Uqba b. Mirdās b. Muṭahhir b. Ṭalq b. ‘Amr b. Mālik,

Yaqāza, the mention of Khuthaym could possibly be tantamount to the mention of the B. 'Awf b. Yaqāza themselves.

The B. ash-Sharīd b. Riyāḥ b. Yaqāza were one of the subdivisions of 'Uṣayya. The name "Riyāḥ" poses a problem. If we assume that it refers to ash-Sharīd's father we have a double reference to the same subdivision and no reference to the B. Mālik b. Yaqāza. Therefore, it is suggested that the verse refers to Riyāḥ son of Mālik b. Yaqāza, and that the B. Mālik themselves are meant.<sup>29</sup> "Ṭarūd" seems to be a corruption of "Maṭrūd", the only non-'Uṣayya group mentioned: Maṭrūd b. Mālik b. 'Awf, an eponym of a *baṭn*, was the brother of Ri'l b. Mālik b. 'Awf.<sup>30</sup>

### *The B. Mālik b. Khufāf*

Mālik b. Khufāf begot, among others, Ḥabīb and Zighb.<sup>31</sup> The participation of Zighb in the battle of Bi'r Ma'ūna is attested to by the invocation of the Prophet against them.<sup>32</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī has the word *baṭn* under their name.

nicknamed al-Azraq, b. 'Awf b. 'Uṣayya; elsewhere 'Uqba b. Jabr (*sic*) is said to have been one of the B. Khuthaym.

29 See also Hajārī, p. 57. Cf. perhaps the B. Riyāḥ b. Mālik b. 'Uṣayya b. Khufāf, who are mentioned in connection with the rebellion of an-Nafs az-Zakiyya in 145/762, Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, VII, p. 581.

30 I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 160a. See below, n. 91.

31 I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 159 has: Zi'b, and the same appears in Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1190a. Also Zurqānī, II, p. 79, l. 3, has Zi'b. I chose here the version with a *ghayn* as it is more common in the sources and because a diacritical point is more likely to be omitted than to be added. There is much uncertainty over the exact affiliation of aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Sufyān. According to one version, he was from the Mālik b. Khufāf. He participated in the conquest of Mecca and is said to have been one of the banner-carriers; see Landau-Tasseron, *Ridda*, pp. 224.

32 For versions of the *qunūt* see Kister 1981, p. 255, n. 64; 256, n. 65. The Zighb appear e.g. in Wāqidi, I, p. 349; I. Sa'd, II, p. 53, l. 6.



The only family from Zighb which is known to us in some detail is the leading family of this clan. This seems to apply to both the pre-Islamic and the early Islamic periods.<sup>33</sup> Al-Akhnas b. Yazīd is mentioned as a member of a Sulamī delegation to the Prophet.<sup>34</sup> Again, a link is provided between the delegation and the conquest of Mecca: al-Akhnas b. Yazīd is mentioned as one of the commanders who replaced Qidr b. ‘Ammār.<sup>35</sup> Another report says that the Prophet gave Yazīd b. al-Akhnas (not al-Akhnas b. Yazīd) one of the banners of military command (*alwiya*) in the conquest of Mecca.<sup>36</sup> It seems that Yazīd b. al-Akhnas is the correct name: Yazīd is said to have carried one of the four *liwā*’s of Sulaym in the conquest of Mecca.<sup>37</sup> His son Ma’n was a warrior and presumably a tribal leader. Ma’n claimed<sup>38</sup> that he swore allegiance to the Prophet together with his father and grandfather.<sup>39</sup> Closely connected to the above

33 Different pedigrees of this clan: an unusual pedigree of Ma’n b. Yazīd (on whom see below) appears in the *Iṣāba*, VI, p. 192: Ma’n b. Yazīd [...] B. Zighb (printed: Zi’b) b. Mālik b. ‘Uwayf b. ‘Uṣayya b. Khufāf b. Imri’i l-Qays. Cf. *Tahdhib at-tahdhib*, X, pp. 253–4. On the other hand, Zighb appears in the pedigree of Sa’id b. Sufyān, otherwise known as a Ri’li; see below, Ch. VIII, n. 89. The reason for these changes is unknown.

34 *Iṣāba*, I, p. 38, no. 60, quoting Ibn Sa’d: *wa-qāla Ibn Sa’d fī waḥdī B. Sulaym: wa-l-Akhnas b. Yazīd*.

35 I. Sa’d, I, pp. 307–9.

36 I. Sa’d, IV, p. 274.

37 *Loc. cit.*

38 See e.g. I. Sa’d, IV, p. 274. Cf. *’Iqd*, II, p. 231, l. 14.

39 One report says that Ma’n participated in the battle of Marj Rāhiṭ in 64 (or 65) A.H., *Iṣāba*, VI, p. 192, no. 8167 (the date is erroneously reported here as 54 A.H.); I. Sa’d, IV, p. 274; Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1190a; I. Kalbi, *Jamh.*, fol. 159b (it is called here *yawm al-harj*; cf. *Lisān al-‘arab*, s.v.). Abū Zur’a (quoted in the *Iṣāba*, p. 193) mentions Ma’n among those who lived in Syria and were killed at Marj Rāhiṭ. In A. Zur’a, *Ta’rikh*, I, p. 234; II, p. 692, the name is Ibn Thawr as-Sulamī. In another version, the most likely one, it was Thawr b. Ma’n b. Yazīd b. al-Akhnas who was killed in Marj Rāhiṭ, Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, V, pp. 533, 538, 542; I. ‘Asākir, *Dimashq (Tahdhib)*, III, p. 383; *Naqā’id Jarir wa-l-Akhtal*, p. 15, l. 6. Incidentally, 600 from Sulaym are said to have been killed in that battle, *’Iqd*, IV,

claim is another claim that Ma'n b. Yazīd b. al-Akhnas, his father and his grandfather took part in the battle of Badr on the Prophet's side.<sup>40</sup> There are good reasons to doubt this report. The three do not appear in the lists of participants found in Wāqidī and Ibn Hishām.<sup>41</sup> The involvement of the Zighb in Bi'r Ma'ūna constitutes further cause for suspicion. The above allegations come, presumably, from Ma'n himself, who at some stage engaged in the transmission of *ḥadīth*. The family was active in different places; this may have been a result of its military role.<sup>42</sup> Yazīd

p. 397, l. 6. Al-Akhnas is a nickname; it is possible that the real name was Thawr (in which case Thawr b. Ma'n was called after his great-grandfather), cf. e.g. *Iṣāba*, I, p. 38, no. 60; 415, nos. 974, 975; *Uṣd al-ghāba*, I, p. 251. It is not impossible that Ma'n took part in Marj Rāhiṭ too: there is evidence that he was still active militarily close to that time. Ma'n as-Sulami, who is mentioned as late as 60 A.H. in connection with the killing of al-Ḥusayn at Karbalā', can be no other person, Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh*, V, p. 392, l. 7 from bottom. In 54 A.H. Ma'n led the *ṣā'ifa*, Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh*, V, p. 293. A record which relates to the year 40, or 37, or 39 A.H. (I. 'Asākīr, *Dimashq [Tahdhib]*, III, pp. 220, 222; *Naqā'id*, II, p. 716) describes Ma'n b. Yazīd b. al-Akhnas interceding for Sulaym when Mu'āwiya sent a punitive expedition against the supporters of 'Alī. Ma'n b. Yazīd b. al-Akhnas was in Mu'āwiya's camp during the conflict with 'Alī; see Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh*, V, pp. 7, 66; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Ṣiffīn*, pp. 200–1. Cf. *Naqā'id*, II, p. 716, l. 14. Ibn 'Asākīr (in the *Iṣāba*, p. 192) says that Ma'n participated in the conquest of Damascus and that he had a favoured place with 'Umar, *wa-kāna lahu makān 'inda 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb*.

40 *Iṣāba*, I, p. 38, no. 60, s.v. al-Akhnas as-Sulami, quoting al-Baghawī in s.v. Ma'n b. Yazīd. See also the *ḥadīth* of Ma'n in Aḥmad, III, 470 (ll. 14 and 10 from bottom: he reported that he, his father and his grandfather swore allegiance to the Prophet; l. 26: Ma'n b. Yazīd led a raid against the Byzantines in the governorship of Mu'āwiya).

41 *Istī'āb*, IV, p. 1442, no. 2472 s.v. Ma'n b. Yazīd and *Tahdhib al-tahdhib*, X, pp. 253–4, no. 455, s.v.

42 Originally they lived between Mecca and Medina; later they immigrated to the Maghrib, I. Khaldūn, *Ibar*, II, p. 308, l. 17. This source calls them: B. Zighba b. Mālik b. Buhtha. The details provided by Ibn Khaldūn on the settlement of Sulaym in North Africa do not concern us here.

b. al-Akhnas settled in Kūfa with his children.<sup>43</sup> Indeed, his son Ma'n lived in Kūfa.<sup>44</sup> Ma'n "entered" Egypt; later he lived in Damascus.<sup>45</sup> In the time of Mu'āwiya, Ma'n was in command of four thousand cavalymen stationed in Ramla (*sic*). Mu'āwiya promised the governor of Alexandria that they would come to his aid if need be.<sup>46</sup>

*The B. 'Amīra b. Khufāf*

'Amīra begot Ka'b, Salama and Murra.<sup>47</sup> There is an indication that the three sons were the eponyms of subdivisions of 'Amīra: Ibn Ḥabīb<sup>48</sup> says that Salama was from the subdivisions (*faṣā'il*) of 'Amīra. As is clear from his pedigree, the *ridda*-rebel nicknamed al-Fujā'a, whose real name was Bujayra,<sup>49</sup> was from this subdivision.

*The B. Nāṣira b. Khufāf*

Ibn al-Kalbī records the name Nāṣira<sup>50</sup> while other sources refer,

43 I. Sa'd, IV, p. 274. See also Ḥassān, *Diwān*, II, p. 88.

44 *Iṣāba*, VI, p. 192; Khalifa, *Ṭabaqāt*, pp. 50 (he is included in the list of companions who lived in Medina), 130. Aḥmad, IV, p. 259 includes the *ḥadīth* of Ma'n b. Yazīd in the *musnad al-kūfiyyīna*.

45 *Iṣāba*, *loc. cit.* One version of a report on the Sulamis sent to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb says that Egypt sent Ma'n b. Yazīd, Zamakh., *Fā'iḳ*, s.v. 't.k., II, p. 391. Another version (below, n. 83) mentions Syria.

46 I. 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ miṣr*, p. 192, l. 16. The report seems to indicate the existence of Ramla already in the time of Mu'āwiya.

47 I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 158a.

48 *Mukhtalif*, p. 40.

49 b. Iyās b. 'Abdallah b. 'Abd Yālil b. Salama b. 'Amīra, I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 158a. Other sources, who also rely on Ibn al-Kalbī, have: Bujayr, I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 261; Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1188b.

50 *Jamh.*, fol. 158a, 159a; see also Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1188a.

apparently erroneously, to B. Ghāḍira.<sup>51</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī<sup>52</sup> says only that Nāṣira begot five sons (among them one called Nājiya).<sup>53</sup>

In the Khandaq, the B. Nāṣira fought against the Prophet. One of them, 'Abdallah b. Wāṣil, is alleged to have been a companion of the Prophet and to have fought with him in that battle. The details connect him to the heroic enterprise of making his horse leap over the ditch.<sup>54</sup> Al-Hajarī remarks that he was the owner of the one-eyed horse that he made leap over the ditch. He mentions as his source "the B. Ghāḍira". There seems to be a misunderstanding. The B. Nāṣira who told this story were supposedly only commemorating his prowess and never meant to place him on the Prophet's side at that early stage: the only attempts to leap over the ditch were made by the pagans, one of whom was 'Abdallah b. Wāṣil.<sup>55</sup>

51 I. Kalbi, *Jamh.*, fol. 157b–158a, mentions their eponym Nāṣira along with Khufāf's other sons 'Uṣayya, 'Amīra and Mālik. Nāṣira is not mentioned by I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 261.

52 *Jamh.*, fol. 159a.

53 In Khalifa, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 302, the name Nāḍira in the MS was replaced by Ghāḍira (and instead of 'Attāb read: Khufāf; this change seems to be rather persistent; see below, n. 57). I. Athīr, *Lubāb*, s.v. an-Nāḍirī is wrong: Ibn al-Kalbī (quoted in I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 487) states explicitly that there is no Nāḍira among the Arabs, only Nāṣira and Naḍra. Cf., perhaps, the *Tāj al-'arūs*, s.v. *n.s.r.*, who says that the B. Nāṣira are a *qabila* in Ṭā'if and that they are mentioned along with Bajla (a Sulamī clan; see below, Ch. IV).

54 The *Iṣāba*, IV, p. 258, no. 5020, s.v. 'Abdallah b. Wāṣil as-Sulamī from the B. Ghāḍira(!) b. Khufāf, quotes the *Nawādir* of Abū 'Alī al-Hajarī (cf. on this book Hajarī, pp. 103f). Abū 'Alī mentions him among the companions of the Prophet from B. Ghāḍira(!). The text implies, perhaps, that there were other companions as well: *wa-mimman ṣaḥība n-nabiyya ṣ. min B. Ghāḍira(!) b. Khufāf b. Imri' i l-Qays b. Nājiya, wa-sāqa nasabahū 'Abdullah b. Wāṣil [...]*. The word "Nājiya" should be placed before Nāṣira, because Nājiya was, as already mentioned, Nāṣira's son. See also the lengthy discussion in the *Iṣāba* concerning 'Abdallah's status as a companion of the Prophet; Dhahabī, *Tajrīd*, I, p. 339, no. 3599.

55 See e.g. Wāqidi, II, pp. 464–5, 470–1; Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, p. 425. Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb from the B. Muḥārib b. Fihr was one of the four (all of them pagans fighting against the Prophet) who leapt over the ditch, I. Qudāma, *Tabyīn*, quoted by Farrāj in I. Kalbi/Farrāj, I, p. 474.

Considering ‘Abdallah’s role in the above battle, the reports on the early Islamization of another member of the B. Nāšira, namely, ‘Amr b. ‘Abasa, seem dubious. Wāqidi says that he had embraced Islam at an early date, in Mecca (i.e., before the *hijra*) and then returned to the territory of his tribe. The latter part of Wāqidi’s words seems more trustworthy: he made the *hijra* after [the conquest of] Khaybar and before the conquest of Mecca.<sup>56</sup> Another report says that he came to Medina after the Khandaq and lived there; later he went to Syria.<sup>57</sup> The dubious report on the early Islamization of ‘Amr is concluded with what seems to be a solid piece of information: ‘Amr lived in Ṣaffa and Ḥādha, in the land of the B. Sulaym.<sup>58</sup> While Ḥādha is well-known,<sup>59</sup> the identification of Ṣaffa is problematic: a place called Ṣaffa can be found on the edge of the land of Sulaym not far from Medina but it is far from Ḥādha.<sup>60</sup>

56 *Iṣāba*, p. 658; I. Sa’d, IV, p. 219.

57 Nawawī, *Tahdhib*, I, p. 31–2. On ‘Amr see also *Iṣāba*, IV, p. 658, no. 5907, s.v. ‘Amr b. ‘Abasa b. Khālīd b. ‘Āmir b. Ghāḍira(!) b. Khufāf b. Imrī’i l-Qays. There is another version concerning his pedigree, tracing it back to the B. Mālik b. Tha’laba b. Sulaym; see Ch. IV, n. 20. Only the latter pedigree appears in Ibn Sa’d, IV, p. 214. Other sources read ‘Attāb instead of Khufāf; see Khalifa, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 302; *Tahdhib at-tahdhib*, VIII, p. 69, no. 107; *Uṣd al-ghāba*, IV, p. 120; *Istī‘āb*, III, p. 1192, no. 1937. Some sources report that he was a half-brother of Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī from the same mother; see *Iṣāba* and *Tahdhib at-tahdhib*; Nawawī, *Tahdhib*, I, p. 32. Some claim that he took part in the battle of Badr with the Prophet. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā al-Baghdādī (see *GAS*, I, p. 347), on listing the companions of the Prophet who settled in Ḥims, says that ‘Amr was one of the first *Muhājirūn* and that he took part in the battle of Badr. However, Ibn ‘Asākir expresses doubts about Badr; see *Iṣāba*, *loc. cit.*

58 *Wa-kāna yanzilu bi-Ṣaffa wa-Ḥādha*, I. Sa’d, IV, p. 219, quoting Wāqidi. But cf. below, Ch. IV, n. 24.

59 See Index, s.v. See also Rāshid, *Zubayda*, pp. 105, 107, 134. This Ḥādha does not seem identical to the Ḥādha mentioned in *Maghānim*, p. 119.

60 On *ḥarrat Ṣaffa*, which is one of the sources of *wādī* Mahzūr, “the *wādī* of Qurayza”, see Samh., II, p. 1077; *Maghānim*, pp. 278–9. Cf., perhaps, the water-place called Ḍaffa in

The B. Nāšira conclude the discussion of the descendants of Khufāf b. Imri'i l-Qays.

### *The B. Bahz b. Imri'i l-Qays*

The descendants of Taym (usually called Bahz) b. Imri'i l-Qays form one of the groups within the Imru'ū l-Qays branch. The most prominent person among them was Ḥajjāj b. 'Ilāt.<sup>61</sup>

There are vague indications that the Bahz belonged originally to the Ḥārith branch of Sulaym.<sup>62</sup> Ṭu'ma b. Ubayriq was from the Sulamī group B. Zafar b. al-Ḥārith b. Buhtha which settled in Medina and became incorporated into one of its tribal groups. In the early days of Islam he was reportedly involved in a theft. The account on this affair<sup>63</sup> includes the statement that Ṭu'ma was a paternal uncle of Ḥajjāj b. 'Ilāt, i.e., he was 'Ilāt's brother. This conflicts with other sources which record the B. Bahz as part of the Imru'ū l-Qays branch.<sup>64</sup> Following the affair, Ṭu'ma

the mountain called Maytān, 'Arrām, p. 426. 'Arrām says that it has no plant and that it belongs to Sulaym and Muzayna, Bakrī, s.v., III, p. 879 and s.v. Zālim, III, p. 906. Cf. *Maghānim*, p. 399.

61 b. Khālīd b. Nuwayra b. Ḥanthar b. Hilāl b. 'Abd b. Zafar b. Sa'd b. 'Amr b. Bahz b. Imri'i l-Qays, I. Kalbi, *Jamh.*, fol. 160b–161a; Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1192b. (According to these sources, instead of Thuwayra and Ḥabtar in Ḥassān, *Dīwān*, II, p. 88, read: Nuwayra and Ḥanthar.) There is evidence of a group called Zafar among the Bahz: the *nisba* aḏ-Zafarī relates to Zafar b. Bahz b. Imri'i l-Qays b. Buhtha, Ḥāzimī, *Ujāla*, p. 87. But Ibn al-Kalbī says that Zafar begot 'Abd, the clan (*raḥt*) of al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Ilāt. Between Zafar and Bahz in the pedigree of Ḥajjāj quoted above there are two generations. It seems plausible that the pedigree in the above source is abridged; it is even more abridged in I. Athīr, *Lubāb*, s.v. aḏ-Zafarī: Zafar b. al-Ḥārith b. Buhtha b. Sulaym. Cf. on Ḥajjāj Gil 1984, 205.

62 It is less likely that the following evidence relates to Ḥajjāj b. 'Ilāt alone.

63 Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, V, p. 173, l. 5. Cf. I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 262.

64 Note that there was a Zafar in Ḥajjāj's pedigree. See the entries on Ḥajjāj in the *Iṣāba*, II, pp. 33–5, no. 1624; I. Sa'd, IV, pp. 269–71; *Uṣd al-ghāba*, I, pp. 381–2; *Istī'āb*, I, pp. 325–6, no. 482; see also Khalifa, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 51; I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 262.

fled to the *ḥarrat* B. Sulaym and died there.<sup>65</sup> A more detailed report mentions Ṭu'ma's stay in Mecca: following the affair, he had to leave Medina. He went to Mecca where he lived with Ḥajjāj. When he tried to steal from him he was driven out of Mecca and died a pagan in the *ḥarrat* B. Sulaym.<sup>66</sup>

Other records name a woman as his host in Mecca. Ṭu'ma appears to have been a nickname, his real name being Bashīr b. Ubayriq. Bashīr had to leave Medina. He went to Mecca and lived in the house of a woman from Medina who was married to a man from the B. 'Abd ad-Dār. She was Sulāfa bint Sa'd b. Sahl from the B. 'Amr b. 'Awf (Aws). However, when Ḥassān b. Thābit recited some derogatory verses about her, she drove him out of her house.<sup>67</sup> The reports concerning his host in Mecca are not so far apart from each other. Sulāfa was married to Ṭalḥa b. Abī Ṭalḥa from the B. 'Abd ad-Dār, while Ḥajjāj was married to Ṭalḥa's sister Umm Shayba bint Abī Ṭalḥa.<sup>68</sup>

The wealthy confederate of Mecca Ḥajjāj b. 'Ilāt was selected by the Prophet as one of his two envoys to Sulaym before the conquest of Mecca, in which Ḥajjāj played an active role. It is obvious that, like other prominent Sulamī confederates of Mecca, most prominently Sufyān b. 'Abd Shams and his son Abū l-A'war, Ḥajjāj preserved his Sulamī

65 See Diyārbakrī, *Khamīs*, I, p. 449, l. 9 from bottom: some say that he settled in the *ḥarrat* B. Sulaym and worshipped an idol belonging to them until he died.

66 Ḥajjāj reportedly addressed him with the words: "My guest and cousin", Ṭabārī, *Tafsīr*, V, p. 173 *supra*. The expression in the same source, p. 172, l. 15: *wa-kāna nāzilan fi B. Ṣafar*, could indicate that he was only a confederate of the B. Ṣafar; but another report in the same source says that his family was part of B. Ṣafar themselves, p. 170, l. 2: *kāna ahlu bayt minnā yuqālu lahum B. Ubayriq* [...].

67 Ṭabārī, p. 171 *supra*; Ḥassān, *Diwān*, II, pp. 46–8 and no. 35.

68 See below, Ch. VI, n. 88. Presumably, we do not have full details on the affair; cf. Ṭu'ma's role in arranging a meeting between the Prophet and the Meccan leaders, Kister 1981, p. 258=Mūqātil, *Tafsīr*, II, fol. 85b–86a. This report indicates that he was more than a simple thief.

genealogy. Another common feature is the link with the Umayyads:<sup>69</sup> Like the family of Sufyān b. 'Abd Shams, the family of Ḥajjāj had close links with the Umayyads and Ḥajjāj's son 'Ubaydallah held an office under Mu'āwiya.<sup>70</sup>

Presumably, Ḥajjāj could have been approached by the Prophet through Ḥajjāj's wife, the sister of the Prophet's companion Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr. Alternatively, the Prophet could have used his and Khadīja's contact with the B. Bahz.<sup>71</sup>

Ḥajjāj is said to have embraced Islam as early as Muḥarram 7 A.H., when the Prophet conquered Khaybar. The wording of the report in Wāqidi suggests that his meeting with the Prophet in Khaybar was accidental: "Ḥajjāj b. 'Ilāṭ set out on an expedition, and it was mentioned to him that the Messenger of God was in Khaybar. So he embraced Islam and participated in that expedition with the Messenger of God".<sup>72</sup>

69 Landau-Tasseron, *Ridda*, p. 243, n. 41.

70 I. 'Asākir, *Dimashq (Tahdhīb)*, IV, p. 47, l. 2: *wa-'sta'mala Mu'āwiya 'bnahu 'Ubaydallah 'alā arḍ Ḥimṣ*. Another source (*Iṣāba*, II, p. 34, quoting Ibn as-Sakan) calls the son 'Abdallah and reports that he was appointed as the governor of Ḥimṣ ('*alā Ḥimṣ*). Another Bahzī, Karrāz b. Mālik, was the governor of Ubulla in the time of Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1198a. But cf. the verses of Ḥajjāj in praise of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, referring to the killing at Uḥud of the banner-carrier of Quraysh Ṭalḥa b. Abī Ṭalḥa (Wāqidi, I, pp. 225–6) from the 'Abd ad-Dār, Landau-Tasseron, *Ridda*, p. 222=I. 'Asākir, *Dimashq (Tahdhīb)*, IV, p. 47; Yāqūt, s.v. al-Jarr; Balādh., *Ansāb*, I, pp. 53–4; Ḥassān, *Dīwān*, II, pp. 46–7. Note that Ṭalḥa was the brother of Ḥajjāj's wife. See also the *ḥadīth* in favour of 'Uthmān which is reported by another Bahzī, Ka'b b. Murra, or Murra b. Ka'b, Aḥmad, IV, p. 235, l. 14 (the alleged setting is of interest: *lammā qutila 'Uthmān (r) qāma khuṭabā' bi-Īliyā* etc.); cf. *Iṣāba*, VI, p. 81: *kunnā mu'askirīna ma'a Mu'āwiya ba'da qatli 'Uthmān* etc. On his pedigree see *Iṣāba*, VI, pp. 79–80, no. 7912; V, p. 612–3, no. 7439. On the other hand, there is evidence of a Bahzī who settled in Kūfa and fought in Ṣiffin on 'Alī's side, *Iṣāba*, s.v. 'Ubayd b. Khālid as-Sulamī, IV, p. 409, no. 5336; *Istī'āb*, III, p. 1016, no. 1728; Khalifa, *Ṭabaqāt*, pp. 52, 130.

71 See below, Ch. VI, n. 93.

72 II, p. 702: *wa-kāna l-Ḥajjāj b. 'Ilāṭ as-Sulamī thumma l-Bahzī qad kharaja yughīru fī ba'dī*



A report on Ḥajjāj's summoning to Medina by the Prophet together with 'Irbāḍ b. Sāriya is followed by another report concerning his *hijra*. The first report says that when the Prophet wanted to raid Mecca he summoned Ḥajjāj and 'Irbāḍ to Medina. The following report says that Ḥajjāj made the *hijra* and settled in Medina in (the court of) the B. Umayya b. Zayd. He built in it (in Medina? in the court of the B. Umayya?) a court and a mosque.<sup>73</sup>

A high degree of mobility is discernible in the family of Ḥajjāj. Ḥajjāj lived in Medina. He later went to Syria and had a court in Damascus.<sup>74</sup> He is also reported to have settled in Ḥimṣ and to have owned a court there.<sup>75</sup> The evidence linking Ḥajjāj to Baṣra<sup>76</sup> presumably belongs to an earlier period, before he settled in Syria. His son Mu'arriḍ was killed in the battle of the Camel and his other son Naṣr composed an elegy for him.<sup>77</sup> Ḥajjāj and 'Īsā b. Khuṣayla b. Mughīth b. Naṣr b. Khālīd, who was

*ghārātihi* [...]. The report is problematic: on one hand, it refers to military cooperation between Ḥajjāj (and possibly others from his clan) and the Prophet; on the other hand, it indicates no link between the expedition of Ḥajjāj and the Prophet's expedition against Khaybar.

- 73 I. Sa'd, IV, p. 271, quoting Wāqidi. See also Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1192b: *wa-sakana l-Madīna wa-banā masjidan yu'rafu bihi*. The land granted to Ḥajjāj was presumably intended as a compensation for his land in Mecca, which had been confiscated when he left Mecca to join the Prophet; see below, Ch. VI, n. 91. On the B. Umayya cf. below, Ch. V, n. 16.
- 74 I. 'Asākir, *Dimashq (Tahdhīb)*, IV, p. 44. In the time of 'Uthmān people from Bahz complained to the caliph 'Uthmān about verses of the poet ash-Shammākh, *Aghāni*, VIII, p. 103; Shammākh, *Dīwān*, pp. 290f.
- 75 I. 'Asākir, *op. cit.*, p. 47. The court was called (i.e., in a later period) *Dār al-Khālīdiyyīna* after Khālīd b. 'Ubaydallah b. al-Ḥajjāj; note that Ḥajjāj's court in Damascus carried the same name (*op. cit.*, p. 44). Cf. also the appointment of his son, above, n. 70.
- 76 Cf. Ḥassān, *Dīwān*, II, p. 88.
- 77 *Isti'āb*, IV, p. 1478. According to another version, Mu'arriḍ was Ḥajjāj's brother, *Isti'āb*, IV, p. 1477–8.

also from Bahz, helped Farazdaq to escape from the governor of Baṣra, Ziyād b. Abihi.<sup>78</sup>

By coincidence, the sources preserve reports on a few Sulamīs who were involved in scandalous affairs in Medina in the time of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. One of them, called Ja'da b. 'Abdallah, was accused of dishonouring the wives of the warriors while the latter were away at war; he was flogged and banished.<sup>79</sup> Ja'da's exact position within Sulaym is unknown. Similar stories exist concerning Naṣr b. Ḥajjāj b. 'Ilāt and his cousin. Naṣr's exceptional beauty caused a scandal and 'Umar had to exile him to Baṣra, where a fellow Sulamī (from the B. Sammāl), Mujāshi' b. Mas'ūd, officiated as governor. The sources describe another scandal in great detail, one involving Naṣr and Mujāshi's wife.<sup>80</sup>

A cousin of the aforementioned Naṣr was involved in a third affair: Abū Dhi'b was expelled on the grounds of his beauty. He asked to be expelled to where his cousin had been exiled, i.e., to Baṣra.<sup>81</sup> On the other hand,

78 *Naqā'id*, II, pp. 609–11; Jumaḥi, I, pp. 300–3.

79 Zamakh., *Fā'iq*, s.v. *f.r.j.*, III, pp. 106–7; I. Sa'd, III, pp. 285–6; Alūsī, *Bulūgh al-arab*, I, pp. 142–3; *Iṣāba*, I, pp. 536–7, no. 1291; Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1198a; Samh., I, pp. 763–4 (quoting 'Umar b. Shabba).

80 Concerning the expulsion of Naṣr b. Ḥajjāj see 'Athāmīna 1984, pp. 61–4; Ḥamza, *Durra fākhira*, I, pp. 274–6; Zamakh., *Fā'iq*, s.v. *m.n.y.*, III, p. 391; Zamakh., *Mustaqṣā*, I, pp. 119–20, no. 471; Maydānī, *Amthāl*, I, pp. 414–6, no. 2187; I. Qutayba, *Uyūn al-akhbār*, IV, pp. 23–4; I. Jawzī, *'Umar*, pp. 85–7; I. Sa'd, III, p. 285 (note that this story and the Abū Dhi'b story, see below, have the same *isnād*); *Aghānī*, XIX, p. 143; Zamakh., *Fā'iq*, s.v. *f.r.*, III, p. 108 ('Umar was asked who are better: the bald or the thick-haired). See also Jāhiz, *at-Tarbi' wa-t-tadwīr* (in *Rasā'il*, III, p. 88), for a reference to both Ja'da and Naṣr. One could draw from the story some conclusions concerning the level of literacy among the B. Sulaym (which means spoiling a good story). On a wife of Mujāshi' from Sulaym see Suyūṭī, *Awā'il*, pp. 80–1. On his Dawsī wife, see Ch. I, n. 229. Incidentally, it is claimed that the woman who desired the company of Naṣr in Medina was al-Furay'a bint Hammām, the mother of Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, who was at that time married to al-Mughira b. Shu'ba.

81 I. Sa'd, III, p. 285.

the Sulamīs boasted that when ‘Umar asked that prominent persons from the provinces be sent to him, all of those sent were reportedly Sulamīs. However, the sources differ about their identity. The version found in the *Kitāb al-kharāj* of Abū Yūsuf mentions that Kūfa sent ‘Utba<sup>82</sup> b. Farqad, Syria sent Ma’n b. Yazīd and Baṣra sent Ḥajjāj b. ‘Ilāt. Unlike in other versions, it is reported here that ‘Umar put them in charge of the land-tax in their provinces.<sup>83</sup> According to Ibn al-Kalbī, the Sulamīs included Abū l-A‘war as-Sulamī, Mujāshi‘ b. Mas‘ūd, Ḥajjāj b. ‘Ilāt and Ma’n b. Yazīd; ‘Umar wanted to consult them concerning Syria.<sup>84</sup> A source other than al-Kalbī<sup>85</sup> replaces Ḥajjāj with ‘Utba b. Farqad and adds the provinces: Mujāshi‘ from Baṣra, ‘Utba from Kūfa, Ma’n from Egypt and Abū l-A‘war from Syria.

### *The B. ‘Awf b. Imri’i l-Qays*

The descendants of ‘Awf b. Imri’i l-Qays formed the third group within the Imru’u l-Qays branch. ‘Awf begot Sammāl, Ghayṣ and Mālīk.<sup>86</sup> The descendants of Mālīk and Sammāl formed clans.

#### *The B. Mālīk b. ‘Awf*

The B. Mālīk b. ‘Awf included three clans. Mālīk b. ‘Awf bore Ri‘l, Maṭrūd and Qunfudh. By the name of each of them the word “*baṭn*” is written,<sup>87</sup> which indicates that each was a clan of its own.

*B. Ri‘l b. Mālīk b. ‘Awf:* A separate *baṭn* within the Ri‘l is discernible in

82 Misprinted as: ‘Uthmān.

83 P. 122 (ash-Sha‘bī): *fa-‘sta‘mala kulla wāḥid minhum ‘alā kharāj arḍihi.*

84 I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 159b. Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1190a, quoting al-Kalbī, has the reason for their being summoned: *wa-arādahum li-l-mushāwara fī amri sh-shām.*

85 Quoted in Balādh., *loc. cit.*

86 I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 159b.

87 *Op. cit.*, fol. 160a.

the information of Ibn al-Kalbī:<sup>88</sup> Ri'l bore three sons: Ḥayy (read: Ḥuyayy), Salama (some say that Salama is not really his son, but is merely attributed to him) and Nushba, a *batn*.<sup>89</sup>

The most prominent Ri'li leader at the time of the Prophet, 'Abbās b. Anas, took part in the Khandaq with his clan. When Allāh defeated the *aḥzāb* he embraced Islam among the B. Sulaym.<sup>90</sup> Most of the evidence on Ri'l is included in Chs. VII and VIII below.

*B. Maṭrūd b. Mālīk b. 'Awf*: What may be information about their territory can be found in a saying of the poet Zur'a b. as-Salīb b. Qays b. Maṭrūd b. Mālīk. He killed his father and fled to the B. Taghlib. When they inquired about his genealogy, he said: *anā ibn Qarqara*, which is glossed: *yurīdu l-ard*.<sup>91</sup> Balādhurī<sup>92</sup> says that Qarqara is a place. Qarqara is presumably Qarqarat al-Kudr. Wāqidi locates it in the vicinity of the *ma'dīn* near al-Arḥaḍiyya, (the *ma'dīn* being) at a distance of eight *barids* (=32 parasangs, almost 200 km.) from Medina. 'Arrām locates Bi'r

88 *Loc. cit.*

89 The three people from the B. Nushba mentioned by Ibn al-Kalbī are all from Khurāsān: two are mentioned in connection with the 'Abbasid *da'wa* (Mazyad b. Shaqīq; see Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh*, VII, 378; Quraysh b. Shaqīq, *op. cit.*, p. 384). The third, "the governor of Khurāsān" Maṣṣūr b. 'Amr b. Abī l-Kharqā', appears in Ṭabari (*Ta'rikh*, Index) as Maṣṣūr b. 'Umar etc. Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1192a, notes, that Ibn al-Kalbī met Mazyad (erroneously written: Yazid).

90 *Aslama l-'Abbās fī B. Sulaym*, *Iṣāba*, III, p. 630, referring to Abū Mūsā (Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr 'Umar al-Madīnī, d. 585/1185, *GAL*, I, pp. 365–6, *GAL* S, I, p. 604; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'allifīna*, XI, 76); from the *Usd al-ghāba*, III, p. 108, it is clear that after the Khandaq the B. Sulaym returned to their land. The story of the Islamization of 'Abbās b. Anas and Sulaym, that goes back to Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallah b. Abī l-Jahm (*Tahdhīb at-Tahdhīb*, XII, p. 26, no. 135), was unfortunately abridged by Abū Mūsā and nothing of it remains in the *Usd al-ghāba* and *Iṣāba*.

91 I. Ḥabīb, *Alqāb*, p. 311; I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 160a (as-Salīt instead of as-Salīb).

92 *Ansāb*, fol. 1192a.

al-Kudr in Ḥazm B. 'Uwāl.<sup>93</sup> Qarqarat al-Kudr was not near the *ma'din*: it was north of al-Arḥaḍiyya along *wādī* Qanāt, as shown by the information on Qanāt.<sup>94</sup>

*B. Qunfudh b. Mālik b. 'Awf*: Some accurate information on their territory could be found. Haḍb al-Qalīb belonged to the B. Qunfudh from Sulaym. There they killed al-Muqaṣṣaṣ al-'Āmirī.<sup>95</sup>

### *The B. Sammāl b. 'Awf*

The Sammāl included two clans, the B. Yarbū' and the B. Ḥarām: Sammāl gave birth to Ḥarām and Yarbū', [who was the eponym of] the clan (*raḥt*) of Mujāshi' b. Mas'ūd and others. Ḥarām bore Hilāl (and others). From them were the governor of Khurāsān 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim b. Asmā' b. aṣ-Ṣalt<sup>96</sup> and his paternal uncle 'Urwa b. Asmā'.<sup>97</sup> In the section of his

93 Yāqūt, s.vv. Qarqara and Kudr; *Maghānim*, s.v. Kudr (*sic*); Samh., s.v. Kudr; I. Sa'd, II, p. 31 (Qarqarat al-Kudr, and some say: Qarārat al-Kudr); Wāqidi, I, p. 182 (Qarārat al-Kudr); Jāsir, in *Maghānim*, p. 356, has already remarked that "Sahm" in Yāqūt, s.v. Kudr, should be read: Sulaym. He also noticed that 'Arrām mentions al-Qarqara, not al-Kudr; see 'Arrām, p. 425. On al-Qarqara see also above, Ch. I, n. 27.

94 Samh., II, p. 1074. Incidentally, the above record may indicate the identity of the tribal group raided by the Prophet in that locality; the sources usually refer in general terms to a hostile army of Sulaym and Ghaṭafān. On them see also Shammākh, *Dīwān*, p. 122, who links them with their brothers, the B. Ri'l.

95 Bakri, s.v. al-Muḍayyah, IV, p. 1235. See on this place above, Ch. I, n. 149. See also Hajari, p. 224; Lughda, Index, s.v. Haḍb al-Qalīb. On them see also Shammākh, *Dīwān*, p. 123; Hajari, p. 124, l. 12.

96 b. Ḥabīb b. Ḥāritha b. Hilāl b. [Ḥarām b.] Sammāl. I. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, pp. 213, 221–2, lists 'Abdallāh among the brigands (*futtāk*) of Islam (note that *fātik* carries here a positive meaning). See on him also *Usd al-ghāba*, III, pp. 148–9; *Iṣāba*, IV, pp. 69–71, no. 4644; *Tahdhib at-tahdhib*, V, pp. 194–6, no. 335; *Naqā'id*, I, p. 399; I. Qutayba, *Uyūn al-akhbār*, I, pp. 168, 174, 175; *Iqd*, I, p. 117, l. 6; Jāḥiẓ, *Burṣān*, p. 459. The name of his horse was al-Azwar, Alūsī, *Bulūgh al-arab*, II, p. 107. When Mu'āwiya sent an army

book devoted to the Prophet's companions who settled in Baṣra, Ibn Sa'd has successive entries on Mujāshi' and his brother Mujālid.<sup>98</sup> The entry for Mujāshi' includes a *ḥadīth* going back to Mujāshi' himself: he and his brother came to the Prophet (no date is mentioned) to give him the oath of allegiance which included *hijra* (*li-nubāyi'ahu 'alā l-hijra*). The Prophet told them that the *hijra* was over and accepted an oath from them including conversion to Islam and fighting in the path of Allāh. In the entry for Mujālid Ibn Sa'd adduces another *ḥadīth*, again on the authority of Mujāshi': he presented his brother to the Prophet, suggesting that he accept from him an oath which included *hijra*. The Prophet is more specific here: there is no *hijra* after the conquest of Mecca, he said, accepting an oath from him including conversion to Islam. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr states that Mujālid embraced Islam later than his brother, after the conquest of Mecca. The entry for Mujālid in the *Istī'āb* is concluded with the following statement: Mujāshi' and Mujālid were among those who

under Ibn 'Āmir al-Ḥaḍrami to Baṣra to avenge the murder of 'Uthmān, 'Abdallāh b. Khazim went with him and was appointed by Ibn 'Āmir in command of the cavalry, Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1190b. Cf. Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, IV, p. 315; V, p. 112.

97 I. Kalbi, *Jamh.*, fol. 159b–60a; Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1190a; I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 262 (Simāk instead of Sammāl, a common error); see also I. Durayd, *Ishtiqaq*, p. 307. Above the line in the *Jamh.* it is written: *baṭn*. The story of Mujāshi' b. Mas'ūd and his brother (or nephew) whom he brought to the Prophet after the conquest of Mecca (*Usd al-ghāba*, IV, p. 300; IV, p. 393; *Iṣāba*, VI, pp. 168–8, no. 8111; *Istī'āb*, III, p. 1428, no. 2451; Aḥmad, III, pp. 469–9) includes a variant pedigree of the B. Sammāl. The *Istī'āb* titles his entry: Ma'bad b. Mas'ūd an-Nahdī as-Sulamī. An-Nahdī is an error: the *Usd al-ghāba*, which quotes the *Istī'āb* (as well as the companions' dictionaries of Abū Nu'aym and Ibn Manda) has: Ma'bad b. Mas'ūd as-Sulamī *al-Bahzī*. The variant presumably reflects the absorption of the B. Sammāl (or part of them) into Bahz. In addition, one of the versions of the report in Aḥmad (III, pp. 468–9; 469, l. 6) calls Mujāshi': al-Bahzī. This is not an error; the circumstances of the change are unknown. It could have taken place in Baṣra in the Islamic period.

98 VII, p. 30. See on Mujālid also *Iṣāba*, V, p. 770, no. 7730; Jāḥiẓ, *Bursān*, p. 199 (he was a cripple).

came to the Prophet<sup>99</sup> in the year 9 and their burial places in Baṣra are known.<sup>100</sup>

There is evidence of the participation of the B. Yarbū' b. Sammāl (to whom Mujāshi' belonged) in the battle of Ḥunayn on the Prophet's side: Durayd b. aṣ-Ṣimma from Hawāzin was slain by one of them.<sup>101</sup>

*'Urwa b. Asmā' and his sisters*

The companion of the Prophet from the B. Ḥarām, 'Urwa b. Asmā', who was killed in Bi'r Ma'ūna, was a confederate of the Aws clan B. 'Amr b. 'Awf. He was a sincere friend of 'Āmir b. aṭ-Ṭufayl and in the battle of Bi'r Ma'ūna, the pagans under 'Āmir's command were eager to grant him a guarantee of security. However, he preferred to die on the battlefield with his fellow Muslims.<sup>102</sup>

Records on marriages form part of the evidence on 'Urwa's family. One of 'Urwa's sisters was married in Mecca and another in Medina: the

99 IV, p. 1459, no. 2517: [...] *mimman wafada 'alā n-nabī*; the wording suggests that they were delegates of their tribal group.

100 This passage exists only in one of the manuscripts of the *Istī'āb* (which does not imply anything concerning its reliability). It is quoted in *Usd al-ghāba*, IV, p. 301 (without the reference to the year).

101 Rabi' b. Rabi'a b. Rufay' Ibn ad-Dughunna, I. Kalbi, *Jamh.*, fol. 160a. I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 262, has: Rabi' b. Rabi'a b. Rabi'. In the dictionaries of companions he is called Rabi'a b. Rufay'; see *Iṣāba*, II, p. 464, no. 2600; *Usd al-ghāba*, II, pp. 167–8; *Istī'āb*, II, p. 491, no. 757; Dhahabī, *Tajrīd*, I, p. 179, no. 1854. See on this killing also Wāqidi, III, pp. 914–5 (Rabi'a b. Rufay'); I. Hishām, IV, pp. 95–6 (with another version concerning his name: 'Abdallah b. Qunay'). The *Usd al-ghāba* and the *Istī'āb* report on him that he took part in the battle of Ḥunayn; he then came to the Prophet in the delegation of B. Tamīm(!). The error could have been caused by the occurrence of this name in the Tamīm delegation too; see *Iṣāba*, II, p. 465, no. 2601 (Rabi'a b. Ruqay' al-'Anbari); *Usd al-ghāba*, II, pp. 167–8; Dhahabī, *Tajrīd*, I, p. 179, no. 1855.

102 See on him *Iṣāba*, IV, p. 488, no. 5521; *Istī'āb*, III, pp. 1064–5, no. 1801; *Usd al-ghāba*, III, p. 403; I. Sa'd, IV, pp. 377–8.

mother of 'Abdallah b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz, who was born in the time of the Prophet, was Dajāja bint Asmā' b. aṣ-Ṣalt.<sup>103</sup> At an unspecified date the Prophet married another sister, Sanā' (or Sanā). It is not clear whether she then lived in Medina or in the land of her tribe. There are conflicting versions concerning this marriage. They presumably reflect a certain uneasiness on the part of the early compilers. Abū 'Ubayda<sup>104</sup> quotes two Sulamī sources who "claimed" that the Prophet had married Sanā' bint Asmā' b. aṣ-Ṣalt al-Ḥarāmiyya but she died before he had intercourse with her. A similar report was transmitted by Ibn al-Kalbī on the authority of a man from the tribal group of 'Abdallah b. Khāzim (i.e., the B. Ḥarām).<sup>105</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī also transmits another report according to which the marriage did not take place at all. Her father, who was from Sulaym (his name is not mentioned), proposed that the Prophet marry her. On hearing about her beauty and intelligence the Prophet agreed to do so. However, he changed his mind when her father told him that never in her life had she suffered from illness. "There is no need for your daughter, who will come to us carrying her sins with her", the Prophet reportedly explained. Ar-Rushāfi has a peculiar version of the story: when she heard that the Prophet had married her she was so happy that she died of overjoy.<sup>106</sup> A version ascribed to Ibn Ishāq and Abū 'Ubayda says that the

103 b. Ḥabib b. Ḥāritha b. Hilāl b. Ḥarām b. Sammāl b. 'Awf b. Imrī' i l-Qays b. Buhtha b. Sulaym; she was the paternal aunt of 'Abdallah b. Khāzim as-Sulamī, I. Kalbi/Farrāj, I, p. 195, fol. 18a; *Iṣāba*, V, p. 16, no. 6184. Dajāja granted 'Abdallah b. Khāzim her court in Baṣra, Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1190b.

104 *Azwāj*, p. 273.

105 I. Sa'd, VIII, p. 149. This was the version of al-Kalbī, Ibn Ḥabib and others, Zurqāni, III, p. 266, l. 23. Incidentally, as his sources Abū 'Ubayda mentions 'Abd al-Qāhir b. as-Sarī and Ḥafṣ b. an-Naḍr, 'Abd al-Qāhir was from the B. Ḥarām b. Sammāl; see Jumaḥī, I, p. 325: 'Abd al-Qāhir reports that Farazdaq passed by the *majlis* of the B. Ḥarām (i.e., in Baṣra) etc. For praise of Sammāl by Farazdaq see *Naqā'id*, I, p. 278, l. 4. Concerning Ḥafṣ, it is known that he was a Sulamī, Zurqāni, *loc. cit.*, l. 26; *Iṣāba*, VII, p. 714.

106 Quoted in *Iṣāba*, VII, p. 714: [...] *surrat bi-dhālīka ḥattā mātat minā l-farah*. Some called her Wasnā, Zurqāni, III, p. 266, l. 19; others: Sabā, Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, p. 166, l. 18 (Sanā



Prophet divorced her before having intercourse with her.<sup>107</sup> Another version, also ascribed to Abū 'Ubayda, runs as follows: Sanā bint aṣ-Ṣalt, and some say: bint Asmā' b. aṣ-Ṣalt, was offered to the Prophet and was carried to him, but she died before she reached him.<sup>108</sup>

The chronological order followed by Ibn al-Kalbī in his long report on the Prophet's wives<sup>109</sup> suggests an approximate date for this marriage. It is placed between the marriage with Maymūna al-Hilāliyya (Dhū l-Qa'da, 7 A.H.) and the marriage with Asmā' bint an-Nu'mān al-Kindiyya (Rabī' al-Awwal, 9 A.H.). We can safely date the marriage with Sanā at 8 A.H., the year in which Mecca was conquered. It would not be far-fetched to assume that the marriage strengthened the link between the Prophet and Sulaym.

Sanā's sister, Dajāja bint Asmā' b. aṣ-Ṣalt, was married in the same year, shortly after the conquest of Mecca, to 'Āmir b. Kurayz b. Rabī'a b. Ḥabīb b. 'Abd Shams and gave birth to 'Abdallah b. 'Āmir.<sup>110</sup>

The *mukhaḍram* poet, ash-Shammākh b. Ḍirār adh-Dhubaynī, was unhappily married to a woman from the B. Ḥarām. His dispute with her was brought before an arbiter in Medina in the time of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān. Naturally, the wife was backed by her fellow-tribesmen.<sup>111</sup> When the poet

could not have been identical with an-Nash'a bint Rifā'a from the B. Kilāb b. Rabī'a). Indeed, some reports say that she was 'Urwa's mother, not his sister. They call her Asmā' bint aṣ-Ṣalt, *loc. cit.*, I, 20; *Iṣāba*, VII, p. 525, no. 10901; I. Kathīr, *Bidāya*, V, p. 298, I, 11; Ibn Ḥabīb calls her Sanā bint aṣ-Ṣalt, *Muḥabbar*, p. 93. However, the fact that she was the paternal aunt of 'Abdallah b. Khāzim b. Asmā' b. aṣ-Ṣalt (*Muḥabbar*, *loc. cit.*) indicates that she was the daughter of Asmā' and hence 'Urwa's sister.

107 Zurqānī, I, 25.

108 Balādh., *Ansāb*, I, p. 463, no. 939.

109 Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh*, III, pp. 160f, quoting Ibn al-Kalbī < his father.

110 *Iṣāba*, V, 16, no. 6184. 'Abdallah's appointment by 'Uthmān as the governor of Baṣra must have been received with approval by the B. Sammāl who lived there and by Sulaym in general. Cf. also Yāqūt, s.vv. Nahr Ibn 'Umayr; Nahr Umm 'Abdallah.

111 *Aghānī*, VIII, p. 103, I, 11, 104; *Jumāhī*, I, p. 134.

came to Medina to conduct his business, the B. Sulaym clung to him and demanded that the injustice done to the woman be rectified.<sup>112</sup>

### *Mujāshi' b. Mas'ūd*

In the context of the conquest of Mecca, 'Abbās b. Mirdās refers to the B. 'Awf, "the clan of Mujāshi'"<sup>113</sup> that numbered six hundred warriors. Many records are linked with this prominent warrior who was killed in the battle of the Camel (36/656).<sup>114</sup>

Mujāshi' participated in the conquest of Iraq. He was one of the conquerors of Baṣra and is specifically mentioned as the conqueror of the city of al-Furāt, i.e., Furāt Maysān or Perat de-Meshan in its vicinity.<sup>115</sup> Mujāshi' is the protagonist in the following incident not long after the conquest of Baṣra. 'Utba b. Ghazwān came to Medina to report to 'Umar and left Mujāshi' behind as the *amīr* of Baṣra. On hearing of this, 'Umar disapproved: "Do you appoint a nomad as governor over settled people?"<sup>116</sup> In the battle of Jalūlā', 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb sent Mujāshi' as the commander of the people of Baṣra while another companion of the

112 *Aghānī*, VIII, p. 104; Shammākh, *Dīwān*, p. 104. The *hijā'* verses of Shammākh against a Sulamī poet called ar-Rabī' b. 'Albā' include many names of tribal groups, Shammākh, *Dīwān*, no. 4. The editor plausibly suggests (p. 111) that ar-Rabī' was the son of the Prophet's companion 'Albā' as-Sulamī, whose entries in the dictionaries are not helpful concerning his exact affiliation.

113 Erroneously printed: Mukhāshin.

114 *Iṣāba*, V, p. 767, no. 7727. On his success in horse-racing see Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh*, IV, p. 287. Incidentally, this report provides a rare insight into Madā'inī's technique of verifying his reports: he subjected a report from one source to the criticism of another.

115 Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh*, III, pp. 595–6; Oppenheimer, *Babylonia*, Index.

116 Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh*, III, p. 595–8 (*tasta'milu rajulan min ahli l-wabar 'alā ahli l-madar*). On Mujāshi's illiteracy see the story of Naṣr b. Ḥajjāj, above, n. 80. Incidentally, Abū l-'Āj Kathīr b. 'Abdallah, who was appointed the governor of Baṣra in the time of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, is described as *a'rābī jalf (jāfin?* reading uncertain), Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1189b. Abū l-'Āj was literate, but may not have been good in grammar: Balādh., *loc. cit.*

Prophet, Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān, led the people of Kūfa.<sup>117</sup> Mujāshi' was in command of the army that was to conquer Ardashīrkhurra and Sābūr in Fāris.<sup>118</sup> Before the battle against Nihāwand we find him further north, obstructing the arrival of reinforcements to the city.<sup>119</sup> We catch another glimpse of Mujāshi' while the Muslim army under Nu'mān b. Muqarrin marches the twenty odd parasangs between aṭ-Ṭazar and Nihāwand. Nu'mān ordered the army to march according to its positions in the battlefield; Mujāshi' was to be at the rear of the army (and defend it from behind).<sup>120</sup> In 30/650–1, Mujāshi' was still in the battlefield, this time in pursuit of Yazdajird who fled from Fāris after its conquest. Madā'ini<sup>121</sup> had different versions concerning the identity of the Muslim commander of this pursuit; "the most correct version in our opinion mentions Mujāshi'", he said. Indeed, the following report<sup>122</sup> mentions a castle called after Mujāshi': Qaṣr Mujāshi'. It was in Kirmān, in the region called Bimandh (or Mīmandh), five or six parasangs from as-Sirajān, the capital of Kirmān. Mujāshi' did not own that place; it carried his name because his entire army, except himself and one other man, froze to death there.<sup>123</sup> A year later, Mujāshi' was (still?) in Kirmān: when Ibn 'Āmir led the expedition during which Khurāsān was conquered, he camped at as-Sirajān. He then left Mujāshi' behind as the governor of Kirmān.<sup>124</sup>

quotes from al-Madā'ini that the grammarian Yūnus (i.e., Yūnus b. Ḥabīb) turned his back and ran away when he heard him reading.

117 Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, III, p. 497. Cf. Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, IV, p. 24f.

118 Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, IV, p. 94.

119 Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, IV, p. 127; Yāqūt, s.vv. Ghudayy and Marj al-Qala'a.

120 Ṭabarī, p. 128: *fa-amarahum bi-t-ta'biya wa-ba'atha ilā Mujāshi' b. Mas'ūd an yasūqa n-nās [...]* *wa-'alā s-sāqa Mujāshi'*. See *Lisān al-'arab*, s.v. s.y.q., p. 167: *wa-sāqatu l-jaysh, mu'akhkharuhu*.

121 In Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, IV, pp. 286–7.

122 *Loc. cit.*

123 See also Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ*, p. 492; Balādh., *Futūḥ*, pp. 315, 391.

124 Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, IV, p. 301.

Mujāshi's role was presumably purely military: he conquered Bīmandh, as-Sīrajān and Jīraft.<sup>125</sup>

When 'Uthmān b. 'Affān was besieged in his court, Mujāshi' came from Baṣra while others arrived from Kūfa, Egypt and Syria. They told of those who were preparing to come to Medina; this worsened 'Uthmān's condition.<sup>126</sup>

With one exception, the above reports make no reference to the tribal identity of the warriors under Mujāshi's command. The exception is the battle of the Camel, Mujāshi's last battle: Mujāshi' was in command of Hawāzin, Sulaym and the A'jāz (i.e., the 'Ajuz Hawāzin).<sup>127</sup> These tribes were the *ahl al-āliya*, i.e., *Āliyat Najd*.<sup>128</sup>

Ibn al-Kalbī reports<sup>129</sup> that Mujāshi' was a *sharīf* and was hit by an arrow in the battle of the Camel while fighting on 'Ā'isha's side. His brother Mujālid was also killed on that day.<sup>130</sup>

A link between the Sammāl and the Dhakwān b. Tha'laba b. Buhtha, some of whom must have settled in Baṣra, is implied by the story of the famous

125 Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ*, p. 492; Balādh., *Futūḥ*, p. 391. Note especially the expression: *wa-sāra fī Kirmān wa-dawwakhahā*, "he marched through Kirmān and subdued it", causing the flight of many of the inhabitants. Some of those conquests were obviously re-conquests; cf. Yāqūt. s.v. Jīraft. For an episode which took place while Mujāshi' carried out a raid against Kābul, see *Iṣāba*, V, pp. 767–8. Another report (*Istī'āb*, IV, p. 1458) mentions the conquest of Tawwaj under Mujāshi's command. Tawwaj in Fāris was conquered in the time of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, in the year 18 or 19; see Yāqūt, s.v.; Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ*, s.v., p. 143; Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, IV, pp. 174–5.

126 Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, IV, p. 385.

127 Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, IV, p. 505. See on the A'jāz or 'Ajuz above, Ch. I, n. 218.

128 Cf. below, n. 133; above, Ch. I, n. 3.

129 *Jamh.*, fol. 159b.

130 Others say that Mujāshi' was killed in an incident preceding the main battle (which seems a more precise statement), *Iṣāba*, V, 768; *Istī'āb*, IV, p. 1458. See on Mujāshi' also Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, IV, p. 469, l. 2.

Dhakwānī warrior al-Jaḥḥāf b. Ḥakīm. One of the sources of Jumāḥī, ‘Abd al-Qāhir b. as-Sarī (from the B. Ḥarām b. Sammāl),<sup>131</sup> said that his grandfather (or great-grandfather) Qays b. al-Haytham gave Ḥakīm b. Umayya<sup>132</sup> a slave-girl who gave birth to al-Jaḥḥāf in their own house.<sup>133</sup>

131 Jumāḥī, I, p. 325; *Tahdhīb at-tahdhīb*, VI, p. 368, no. 701; above, n. 105.

132 Umayya is erroneous; cf. below, Ch. VI, n. 24.

133 Jumāḥī, I, p. 482. Qays b. al-Haytham b. Qays b. aṣ-Ṣalt, who was appointed by Ibn ‘Āmir as the governor of Khurāsān, was later replaced by his relative ‘Abdallāh b. Khāzim, Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1190b. ‘Abdallāh b. az-Zubayr appointed Ibn Khāzim as the governor of Khurāsān, Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1191a (with many details concerning events in Khurāsān). Qays b. al-Haytham, who was called *ra’s ahl al-‘Āliya* (i.e., the commander of the people of the ‘Āliya of Najd who lived in Baṣra) was appointed by “al-Qubā” (al-Ḥārith b. ‘Abdallāh b. Abī Rabi’a al-Makhzūmī), who was the governor of Baṣra under Ibn az-Zubayr, as his successor, Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1191b. See also Ṭabari, *Ta’rikh*, VI, p. 95: *wa-Qays b. al-Haytham ‘alā khums ahli l-‘āliya* (in 67 A.H.).

## IV

### The Tha'laba branch

The descendants of Tha'laba b. Buhtha formed two separate clans whose eponyms were sons of Tha'laba: the B. Dhakwān b. Tha'laba (sometimes referred to as B. Tha'laba) and the B. Mālik b. Tha'laba.<sup>1</sup> Buhtha had two sons named Tha'laba,<sup>2</sup> and the descendants of one of them were incorporated into the B. 'Āmir b. Rifā'a.<sup>3</sup> However, he was not our Tha'laba, the father of Dhakwān b. Tha'laba.<sup>4</sup>

#### *The B. Dhakwān b. Tha'laba*

Almost all the evidence on the Dhakwān is linked with Mecca. The companion of the Prophet, Ṣafwān b. al-Mu'aṭṭal, is an exception. Ṣafwān, who was (according to his pedigree as reported by Ibn al-Kalbī)<sup>5</sup> from the

- 1 That we have to do with two separate clans can be inferred from the information recorded by Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamh.*, 162a–163a. I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, pp. 263–4, is less detailed: he has a separate item on the B. Mālik but not on the B. Dhakwān.
- 2 It is not uncommon to find two sons carrying the same name; the older of them would be called *al-akbar* and the younger – *al-aṣghar*. See, e.g., 'Adī al-akbar and 'Adī al-aṣghar, sons of al-Khiyār b. 'Adī b. Nawfal, Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, p. 201. Caskel, no. 122, mentions only one of the sons called Tha'laba although they appear in I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 157b.
- 3 b. al-Ḥārith b. Huyayy b. al-Ḥārith b. Buhtha, I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 157b.
- 4 But cf. below, Ch. VI, n. 38, the record in which Tha'laba is the son of al-Ḥārith b. Buhtha (and therefore part of the Ḥārith branch); it could be a scribal error.
- 5 *Jamh.*, fol. 162b.

descendants of Murra b. Hilāl b. Fālij b. Dhakwān, figures in several reports with a military context.<sup>6</sup> Since he appears so prominently in the reports on the affair of the *ifk*, it is certain that he took part in the expedition to al-Muraysī' (6 A.H.).<sup>7</sup> He was in charge of the rear-guard of the army.<sup>8</sup> Still in 6 A.H., he was among the warriors who, under the command of Kurz b. Jābir al-Fihri, chased after the treacherous people from 'Urayna who had stolen the milch-camels of the Prophet.<sup>9</sup> Wāqidi has an earlier date: he participated in the Khandaq (5 A.H.) and all the battles after it.

After the conquests, Ṣafwān had a court in Baṣra, in the row of palm trees of the Mirbad (*Istī'āb*). He died in the battlefield.<sup>10</sup> Further records on the B. Dhakwān b. Tha'laba are adduced in Ch. VI below.

- 6 Hāzimi, *Ujāla*, p. 62 and the entries on him in the dictionaries: *Iṣāba*, III, p. 440; *Istī'āb*, II, p. 725; *Usd al-ghāba*, III, pp. 26–7. See his *ḥadīth* in Aḥmad, V, p. 312 (*musnad al-anṣār*).
- 7 Note the lenient reaction of the Prophet to Ṣafwān's violent attack on Ḥassān b. Thābit: not only was there no retaliation, Ḥassān was convinced by the Prophet to drop the case and was rewarded generously; see Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh*, II, p. 619; Ḥassān, *Dīwān*, I, pp. 284–5; *Sira ḥalabiyya*, II, 303–5.
- 8 Wāqidi, II, p. 428, l. 4 from bottom: *wa-kāna [...] 'alā sāqati n-nās min warā'ihim*. He had the same role in the *hajjat al-wadā'*, Wāqidi, III, p. 1093. This is reminiscent of the role played by two fellow tribesmen of Ṣafwān, namely Anas b. 'Abbās (below, Ch. VIII, n. 69) and Mujāshi' b. Mas'ūd (above, Ch. III, n. 122). But cf. the other report: he lagged behind because of the call of nature, e.g. Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh*, III, p. 612: *wa-qad kāna takhallafa 'ani l-'askar li-ba'di ḥājatihi*. See also Wāḥidī, p. 182, l. 6 from bottom (commentary on Qur'ān, 24,11): *qad 'arrasa min warā'i l-jayshi*, "he alighted for rest during the night behind the army"; Suyūṭi, *Durr*, V, p. 25, l. 10 (*qad 'arrasa* is omitted). Indeed, the sources seem eager to convince us of his position at the rear: it is implied that he was in charge of the rear of the Prophet's army ever since Muraysī', *Istī'āb*, II, p. 725, no. 1223: *kāna yakūnu 'alā sāqati n-nabī ṣ. wa-lam yatakhallaf ba'du 'an ghazwatin ghazāhā*.
- 9 Wāqidi, II, p. 571.
- 10 It is not clear where and when this happened: in Armenia in 19 (or 17) A.H. or in the

## The B. Mālik b. Tha'laba

The descendants of Mālik b. Tha'laba were also called, after their mother, B. Bajla.<sup>11</sup> Bajla bint Hunā'a b. Mālik b. Fahm al-Azdī<sup>12</sup> belonged to a branch of the B. Daws.<sup>13</sup> Bajla's Azdī origin is relevant to the settlement of the B. Bajla after the conquests: they settled in Kūfa; "the Shahārsūj (i.e., quarter) in Kūfa that is called (erroneously) after Bajla belongs in fact to Bajla, and they are in it with their maternal uncles, the Azd".<sup>14</sup> However, the background of the unusual Azdī connection of Bajla should be sought in Arabia. Abū l-Yaqẓān (d. 190/806)<sup>15</sup> says that Bajla broke away from Sulaym and became the "protected neighbours" of the B. 'Uqayl.<sup>16</sup> The shift is reflected in verses of 'Abbās b. Mirdās.<sup>17</sup>

vicinity of Shimshāt (unspecified date) or in 58, 59 or 60 A.H., in the time of Mu'āwiya, while he was fighting bravely against the Byzantines. Incidentally, Ibn Ḥajar says (*Iṣāba*, III, p. 442) that Ṭabarī opted for the version according to which Ṣafwān was killed in 60 A.H. in Sumaysāt. However, in Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, IV, p. 53, he is said to have been killed in Armenia in 17 A.H.

11 Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1195b.

12 Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1196b; I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 162b–163a; Ḥāzimi, *'Ujāla*, p. 23.

13 See on the descendants of Mālik b. Fahm b. Ghanm b. Daws, I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, pp. 379–81.

14 See also Yāqūt, s.v. Shahārsūj (he erroneously locates Shahārsūj Bajla in Baṣra); Balādh. and I. Kalbī, *loc.cit.* Ḥāzimi mentions a traditionist from Bajla who lived in Kūfa: 'Īsā b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān, from whom ath-Thawri and others transmitted. See also *Tahdhib at-tahdhib*, VIII, p. 219, no. 406; I. Athir, *Lubāb*, I, pp. 121–2.

15 *GAS*, I, pp. 266–7.

16 b. Ka'b b. Rabi'a b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a; see on the B. 'Uqayl I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, pp. 290–2. See also the report on the raid of Madhḥij and Hamdān under the command of Dahr al-Ju'fī on the 'Uqayl (and perhaps other 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a clans too). Captives from Sulaym were taken, among whom there was a girl from Bajla, Jumāḥī, II, pp. 770–2. The above record confirms the reading of the editor, p. 771, n. 4. See also Caskel 1931, 41 = *Aghānī*, IV, p. 134 (*wa-fi B. 'Uqayl buṭūn min Sulaym yuqālu lahum B. Bajla*).

17 *Dīwān*, p. 144; al-Ḥasan b. 'Abdallah al-'Askari, *Sharḥ at-taṣḥīf wa-t-taḥrīf*, ed. 'Abd



The books of genealogy mention three companions of the Prophet from the B. Bajla (one is uncertain). In the conquest of Mecca, al-Ward b. Khālīd<sup>18</sup> was in command of the Prophet's right wing.<sup>19</sup>

'Amr b. 'Abasa (b. Khālīd b. Hudhayfa) was al-Ward's nephew.<sup>20</sup> 'Amr was the Prophet's friend in the *Jāhiliyya*.<sup>21</sup> One report on his early Islamization mentions that he came to the Prophet in 'Ukāz,<sup>22</sup> while another<sup>23</sup> says that he came to Mecca.<sup>24</sup> One report implies that 'Amr embraced Islam not long after the Khandaq: after that battle, 'Amr

al-'Aziz Aḥmad, Cairo 1383/1963, pp. 96–7: *kharajat Bajla min B. Sulaym fa-atat B. 'Uqayl fa-hum fihim*; I. Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, p. 85: *fa-ammā Bajla, fa-kharajat min B. Sulaym wa-ṣārat fi B. 'Uqayl*. Cf. Shammākh, *Dīwān*, p. 122, no. 27.

- 18 b. Hudhayfa b. 'Amr b. Khalaf (Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1196b has: Khālīd, which is an error) b. Māzin b. Mālik-b. Tha'laba.

- 19 *Istī'āb*, IV, p. 1567, no. 2744. It is not clear whether or not al-Ward's command implies the participation of a unit from the B. Mālik. See on him also *Iṣāba*, VI, p. 603, no. 9126; *Usd al-ghāba*, V, pp. 86–7. The last source reports that he quoted the details on him from the *Istī'āb*. However, the entry in the *Istī'āb* includes only the above record. Moreover, even Dhahabī, *Tajrīd*, II, p. 127, no. 1457, who also quotes the *Istī'āb*, has more details than the *Istī'āb* itself: he mentions two *nisbas* of al-Ward: as-Sulamī and al-Bajlī, whereas the *Istī'āb* has no *nisba* at all. See also I. Sa'd, IV, p. 276; Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1196b; I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 162b. Ibn al-Athīr and Dhahabī may have employed better MSS. of the *Istī'āb* than those used for the printed edition.

- 20 Another version, possibly reflecting a change in 'Amr's tribal affiliation, makes him a member of the Imru' u l-Qays branch; see the entries on 'Amr in the *Iṣāba*, IV, pp. 658–61, no. 5907; *Istī'āb*, III, pp. 1192–4, no. 1937; *Usd al-ghāba*, IV, pp. 120–1. Read in Ḥāzīmī, *Ujāla*, p. 23, l. 12: Khālīd b. Hudhayfa, instead of Bajla b. Hudhayfa.

- 21 I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 264.

- 22 Landau-Tasseron, *Ridda*, p. 218 and n. 74=Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, II, p. 315; *Iṣāba*, IV, p. 660. Cf. I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 162b: *yūqālu innahu kāna rub'a l-islāmi fi qawmihi*.

- 23 Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1196b–1197a.

- 24 Concerning the abode of 'Amr b. 'Abasa, a report on his Islamization says that he returned to his abode in Ḥādha and Ṣufayna, Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1197a: *fa-atā manzilahu bi-Ḥādha wa-Ṣufayna* etc. But cf. above, Ch. III, n. 58.

reportedly came to Medina and settled there. Later he settled in Syria.<sup>25</sup> Other reports imply a later date. One report also says that he came to the Prophet after the Khandaq; however, his first battle with him was the siege of Ṭā'if.

In the days of Abū Bakr, he raided Byzantium and lived in Syria until the middle of the time of Mu'āwiya or, according to another version, until the time of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya.<sup>26</sup> Wāqidi<sup>27</sup> says that he made the *hijra* after Khaybar and before the conquest of Mecca, in which he took part.

'Amr was from *ahl aṣ-ṣuffa*.<sup>28</sup> In the battle of Yarmūk he was in command of a squadron of cavalry.<sup>29</sup> 'Amr was among the companions of the Prophet who settled in Ḥimṣ<sup>30</sup> and in 17/638 he was in charge of the granaries.<sup>31</sup>

The Bajlī affiliation of al-'Irbād (henceforth: 'Irbād) b. Sāriya is uncertain.

25 *Usd al-ghāba*, IV, p. 120, l. 4 from bottom.

26 Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1197a.

27 In the *Iṣāba*, IV, p. 658.

28 A. Nu'aym, *Hilya*, II, pp. 15–6, no. 107. From the report on p. 16 it can be inferred that he was a shepherd. On the *ṣuffa* cf. I. Sa'd, VII, p. 51. See also the *ḥadith* of 'Amr b. 'Abasa in Aḥmad, IV, pp. 111–4 (*musnad ash-shāmiyyīna*) and 385–7 (*musnad al-kūfiyyīna*). Concerning the *ahl aṣ-ṣuffa*, see the words of one of them, from the B. Naṣr b. Mu'āwiya, in A. Nu'aym, *Hilya*, I, p. 339, 374: if a man who came to the Prophet had an '*arīf*' in Medina he stayed with him, and if he did not have one, he stayed with the *aṣḥāb aṣ-ṣuffa*. The *nisba* an-Nadri in *Iṣāba*, III, 534 is erroneous.

29 Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, III, p. 397, l. 1.

30 *Iṣāba*, IV, p. 658; Khalifa, *Ṭabaqāt*, pp. 49, 302.

31 *Ahrā'*, presumably of Syria, Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, IV, p. 67, l. 6. A role of 'Amr in the collection of taxes is implied by a gloss in Aḥmad, IV, p. 112, l. 12: *ṣāhib al-'aql*, '*aql aṣ-ṣadaqa*, *rajl min B. Sulaym*. Ibn Hajar (*Iṣāba*, p. 661) thought that he died at the end of 'Uthmān's caliphate because he saw no reference to him in the civil war (*fitna*) nor in the caliphate of Mu'āwīya.

Entries on him in the dictionaries<sup>32</sup> fail to record his exact pedigree. Khalīfa<sup>33</sup> lists him among the Sulamī companions of the Prophet who lived in Medina but whose pedigree is unknown to him.

Under “al-Bajlī”, Abū Bakr al-Ḥāzimī, in his *‘Ujālat al-mubtadī*, says: “From them Abū Nujayḥ (thus vocalised, but Najīḥ seems preferable) [al-‘Irbāḍ b. Sāriya] and ‘Amr b. ‘Abasa as-Sulamī”. It is also reported here that ‘Amr was a companion of the Prophet and transmitted from him. The name between square brackets was found by the editor in one MS only. He explains that ‘Irbāḍ is a Sulamī and Abū Nujayḥ is his *kunya*. But the addition seems unwarranted. Abū Najīḥ was ‘Irbāḍ’s *kunya*, it is true, but it was also, according to some, ‘Amr’s *kunya*. ‘Amr’s entries in the dictionaries record two versions concerning his *kunya*: Abū Najīḥ, and some say: Abū Shu‘ayb. Some sources<sup>34</sup> mention only the *kunya* Abū Najīḥ.<sup>35</sup>

There may have been some confusion between these two companions of the Prophet. Firstly, they were both Sulamīs, from the *ahl aṣ-ṣuffa*;<sup>36</sup> they settled in Syria and each of them reportedly claimed<sup>37</sup> to have been the fourth Muslim. Concerning ‘Irbāḍ, only one *kunya* is reported: Abū Najīḥ. He lived in Syria and died in the *fitna* of Ibn az-Zubayr or (according to Wāqidī) in 75 A.H. He was one of the *bakkā’ūna*, concerning whom Qur’ān 9,92 (in connection with Tabūk) was revealed.<sup>38</sup>

32 *Iṣāba*, IV, pp. 482–3, no. 5505; *Istī‘āb*, III, pp. 1238–9, no. 2026; *Usd al-ghāba*, III, p. 399. See also Khalīfa, *Ṭabaqāt*, pp. 52, 301.

33 *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 52.

34 E.g. I. Athir, *Lubāb*, I, p. 122; Khalīfa, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 49.

35 It seems that the text would be smoother without the name between brackets (and without the first *waw* of *wa-‘Amr*).

36 On ‘Irbāḍ, see the entries in the *Istī‘āb* and the *Iṣāba*; A. Nu‘aym, *Hilya*, II, pp. 13–4, no. 103. A confusion between the two is clear from s.v. Abū Najīḥ in the dictionaries of companions.

37 *Iṣāba*, IV, p. 483; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, I, p. 330.

38 See also e.g. Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, VIII, p. 228 (‘Irbāḍ b. Sāriya al-Fazārī!); Aḥmad, IV,

There is only a vague indication concerning the time of 'Irbād's Islamization. It is linked with another Sulamī whose exact affiliation could not be found, namely Abū l-Walīd 'Utba b. 'Abd.<sup>39</sup> An unusual exchange of praises is recorded concerning 'Irbād (obviously, our 'Irbād) and 'Utba b. 'Abd: 'Utba said that 'Irbād was better than him, while 'Irbād insisted that 'Utba was better than him because he had embraced Islam (literally: came to the Prophet) one year earlier.<sup>40</sup> However, this contradicts another report on the authority of 'Utba: both he and 'Irbād were part of a group numbering seven from Sulaym who gave the Prophet the oath of allegiance; 'Irbād was the oldest among them.<sup>41</sup> 'Utba<sup>42</sup> boasted that he managed "on the day of Qurayẓa and an-Naḍīr" to shoot into the enemy's castle three arrows, each of which alone sufficed to earn him a place in Paradise. The expression "the day of Qurayẓa and an-Naḍīr" is problematic. Ibn Ḥajar<sup>43</sup> has "the day of Qurayẓa" only, avoiding the difficulty. Ibn al-Athīr<sup>44</sup> notices the difficulty but does not offer a solution. There are two possible solutions. 1. One report mentions that the Prophet fought against Naḍīr and Qurayẓa at the same time: the Naḍīr and Qurayẓa fought against the Prophet; he expelled the Naḍīr but agreed that Qurayẓa should stay. Later Qurayẓa fought against the

pp. 126–7; Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1198b; Wāqidi, III, pp. 994, 1024 (and cf. pp. 1036–8); A. Nu'aym, *Hilya*, II, p. 13. For a *ḥadīth* of Abū Najīḥ as-Sulamī on the siege of Ṭā'if, see Aḥmad, IV, p. 284. The *ḥadīth* of 'Irbād is in *op.cit.*, pp. 126–9 (without any details on his Sulamī clan).

39 He used to be called Nushba, or 'Atala, and the Prophet changed his name.

40 *Iṣāba*, IV, p. 437, no. 5411, quoting Aḥmad, IV, p. 186, l. 9.

41 *Iṣāba*, IV, pp. 436–7, no. 5411; *Usd al-ghāba*, III, p. 362–3 (quoting Ibn Manda and Abū Nu'aym).

42 Who interestingly transmits a saying about horses ascribed to the Prophet, *Usd al-ghāba*, p. 363; Aḥmad, IV, p. 183, ll. 20, 26; 184, l. 10. See the *ḥadīth* of 'Utba in Aḥmad, IV, pp. 183–6.

43 *Iṣāba*, IV, p. 436.

44 *Usd al-ghāba*, *loc.cit.*

Prophet.<sup>45</sup> The expression “the day of Qurayza and Naḍir” could apply to the joint fighting of these tribes. 2. It could be a somewhat loose reference to the conquest of Khaybar in which ‘Utba b. ‘Abd is said to have participated.<sup>46</sup> The report about the conquest of Khaybar that is quoted from ‘Irbād by his daughter<sup>47</sup> seems to confirm that he took part in it.

45 Kister 1986a, p. 82–3=‘Abd ar-Razzāq, VI, pp. 54–5.

46 *Istī‘ab*, III, p. 1031, no. 1768. It is reported on the authority of Abū ‘Umar (Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr) himself, without reference to an earlier source. Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr identifies ‘Utba b. ‘Abd with ‘Utba b. an-Nuddar; see *Istī‘ab*, III, pp. 1031–2; *Uṣd al-ghāba*, III, pp. 367–8. This suggestion is convincingly refuted by Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, IV, pp. 441–2, no. 5419. See also A. Nu‘aym, *Hilya*, II, p. 15, nos. 105, 106, who lists both ‘Utba b. ‘Abd and ‘Utba b. an-Nuddar among the *ahl aṣ-ṣuffa*. Khalifa, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 52, lists both ‘Utbas among the Sulami companions who lived in Medina and whose exact pedigree is unknown to him.

47 Aḥmad, IV, p. 127, l. 8 from bottom. The following *ḥadīth* in the same source, pp. 127–8, presumably relates to Khaybar as well.

## V

# Sulaym and Medina

Some of the members of B. Sulaym were close neighbours of Medina and, at times, the *ḥarrat* B. Sulaym provided protection for the people of Medina.<sup>1</sup> The Sulamīs brought horses, camels, sheep and clarified butter to the markets of Medina.<sup>2</sup> Fat camels which had pastured in the *ḥarrat* Shawrān were seen by the Prophet in the market of Medina.<sup>3</sup>

Other aspects of the links between Sulaym and Medina are also documented in the sources. An idol called Khamīs was worshipped by both the Khazraj and the B. Sulaym. It is mentioned in a verse, ascribed to the Prophet's grandfather 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, which is addressed to the B. an-Najjār of the Khazraj. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib swears by this idol.<sup>4</sup> There

1 When the Umayyad army under Busr b. Arṭa'a came to Medina, the people of Medina fled to the *ḥarrat* B. Sulaym, *Naqā'id*, II, p. 717, l. 2. On Ṭu'ma b. Ubayriq; see above, Ch. III, n. 65. When the B. 'Abd al-Ashhal were expelled from Medina one or two generations before the *hijra*, they went to the land of B. Sulaym; see below, n. 25.

2 Samh. I, I, p. 544, l. 17.

3 Samh. and *Maghānim*, s.v. Shawrān.

4 Maqrizī, *Khabar*, IV, p. 64: *wa-l-Khamīs kāna li-B. Sulaym wa-l-Khazraj min al-Anṣār, wa-lahu yaqūlu 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim: abligh Banī n-Najjāri in ji'tahum anni minhum wa-bnuhum wa-l-Khamīs*. Other sources fail to relate the verse to the idol; Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh*, II, p. 248; Balādh., *Ansāb*, I, p. 70; I. Sa'd, I, pp. 82–3. (The last mentioned source, quoting Ibn al-Kalbī, ascribes the verse to al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abd Manāf and suggests different circumstances.) On the margin of the verse in I. Ḥabib, *Munammaq*, p. 87, it was remarked: *al-Khamīs ṣanam aqsāma bihi*. To judge from the above record,

is some evidence of family relations between Sulaym and Medina.<sup>5</sup> Bashīr b. Abī Mas'ūd from the B. Khudāra (from the B. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj) married a woman from Sulaym.<sup>6</sup> The sister of Mālik b. al-'Ajlān (from the B. 'Awf b. al-Khazraj) was married to a man from Sulaym.<sup>7</sup> The B. Mālik b. Zayd Manāt b. Ḥabīb b. 'Abd Ḥāritha (from the B. Jusham b. al-Ḥārith) had family connections with Sulaym.<sup>8</sup> The young companion of the Prophet Sahl b. Sa'd from the B. Sā'ida (from Khazraj) was married to a woman from the Sulamī B. Qunfudh b. Mālik b. 'Awf b. Imri'ī l-Qays.<sup>9</sup>

### *Sulamīs in Medina*

There are several records concerning Sulamīs who settled in Medina. The descendants of Ka'b b. Zafar b. al-Ḥārith b. Buhtha were incorporated into the *Anṣār*. In order to become part of an existing tribal group, they claimed that their eponym's father Zafar was really Zafar b. al-Khazraj b.

the Aws did not worship that idol. However, this is uncertain because some reports suggest that the name Khazraj refers to both the Khazraj and the Aws; see e.g. I. Kalbi, *Aṣnām*, p. 14.

- 5 It seems that only the Khazraj are involved, but this impression may be the result of insufficient data; as we shall see, there were also connections between the Aws and Sulaym.
- 6 I. Sa'd, V, p. 269.
- 7 Samh. I, I, p. 127, l. 1 (the affair of the Jewish king al-Fiṭyawn followed this marriage). The expression "the houses of B. Sulaym" in a record concerning these B. 'Awf b. al-Khazraj seems to be an error; see Samh., s.v. al-Qawāqil, II, p. 363, l. 2 from bottom: *uṭum bi-ṭarafī manāzili B. Sulaym mimmā yalī l-'Aṣaba*. Instead of Sulaym, read: Sālim; Samh., I, p. 199, l. 3 from bottom: *wa-minhā uṭumu l-Qawāqil wa-huwa 'lladhī fī ṭaraf buyūt B. Sālim mimmā yalī nāḥiyata l-'Aṣaba, kāna li-B. Sālim b. 'Awf*.
- 8 I. Sa'd, VIII, p. 393. Cf. I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 356, l. 6; Samh., I, pp. 206–7.
- 9 I. 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, the volume beginning with 'Ubāda b. Awfā, pp. 88–9 ('Anbasa bint Waḥwah etc.); Khalīfa, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 254 ('Uyaysha bint Waḥwah etc.). The latter source has, erroneously, Munqidh instead of Qunfudh. On the B. Qunfudh, see above, Ch. III, n. 95.

‘Amr b. Mālik b. al-Aws.<sup>10</sup> This record was preserved in the genealogical information of Sulaym while the Medinan genealogies include no trace of the Sulamī origin of the group: al-Khazraj b. ‘Amr b. Mālik begot al-Ḥārith and Ka‘b, who is also named Ṣafar, and who is (i.e., whose descendants form) a *batn*.<sup>11</sup> It appears that by the time of the *hijra* the B. Ṣafar had already been assimilated into the Nabīṭ tribal group (Aws).<sup>12</sup>

Another clan from the Ḥārith branch, the B. Mu‘āwiya b. al-Ḥārith b. Buhtha, settled in Medina prior to the arrival of the Aws and the

10 Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1195b: *wa-walada Ṣafar b. al-Ḥārith b. Buhtha [...] wa-Ka‘b b. Ṣafar, wa-hum fī l-anṣār, yaqūlūna: huwa Ṣafar b. al-Khazraj b. ‘Amr b. Mālik b. al-Aws*; I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 162a.

11 I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, pp. 338, 342–3. Note that in the process of genealogical transformation Ka‘b came to be identified with his father, Ṣafar.

12 But cf. Wāḥidī, p. 103, l. 12, who says that Ṭu‘ma b. Ubayriq (on whom see below) was from the B. Ṣafar b. al-Ḥārith. A fortress owned by the ‘Abd al-Ashhal was called ar-Ri‘l (after the Sulamī clan of the same name?). It was in the estate called Wāsiṭ and belonged to Ṣakhra bint Marr b. Ṣafar, the mother of the B. ‘Abd al-Ashhal; see Samh., I, p. 191 and II, s.v.; Bakrī, s.v. ar-Ra‘l (*sic*); *Maghānim*, s.v., ar-Ri‘l, p. 157 (printed: Ḍamra, instead of Ṣakhra; instead of Ḥuṣayn b. Simāk read: Ḥuḍayr b. Simāk); *Aghānī*, XV, p. 165, l. 10 (Ṣakhra bint Murra b. Ṣafar); Qays b. al-Khaṭīm, *Diwān*, pp. 179, 290. Ṣakhra (she is called here: Ṣakhra bint Ṣafar) was also the mother of the other children of Jusham b. al-Ḥārith; I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 254a. Incidentally, after the death of the ‘Abd al-Ashhal leader Ḥuḍayr b. Simāk in the battle of Bu‘āth, the Sulamī poet Khufāf b. Nudba composed an elegy for him; he was a drinking partner and friend of Ḥuḍayr; *Aghānī*, XV, p. 165, l. 6 from bottom. In this context it can be added that when the Prophet sent tax-collectors to the tribes, he sent ‘Abbād b. Bishr al-Ashhali to Sulaym and Muzayna, Wāqidi, III, p. 973. ‘Abbād was from the Nabīṭ clan B. Za‘ūrā; Lecker 1985, pp. 44–6. Balādh., *Ansāb*, I, p. 530, reports that ‘Abbād b. Bishr was in charge of the *ṣadaqāt* of the B. al-Muṣṭaliq from Khuzā‘a, while ‘Abbās b. Mirdās was in charge of the *ṣadaqāt* of Sulaym and Māzin, sons of Maṣṣūr. I. Sa‘d, III, pp. 440–1, makes it clear that ‘Abbād collected the taxes from Sulaym and Muzayna, then he proceeded to the B. al-Muṣṭaliq and did the same.



Khazraj.<sup>13</sup> They can be traced in the fairly detailed records about the tribal groups of pre-Islamic Medina. One source lists them with the tribal groups which “were with” (i.e., were the confederates of) the Jews.<sup>14</sup> They were, in fact, Judaized: the name Mu‘āwiya (without further details) appears in the list of the Jewish clans that remained in Medina when the Aws and the Khazraj settled there.<sup>15</sup> The B. Mu‘āwiya were “within” (i.e., confederates of) the B. Umayya b. Zayd.<sup>16</sup> The double reference to Mu‘āwiya, in the list of the confederates of the Jews and in the list of the Jewish clans relates, presumably, to one and the same group, as the lists overlap. This can be supported by the double reference to the B. Murīd, who also appear in both lists.<sup>17</sup>

A third Sulamī clan of uncertain affiliation, the B. Dhakwān, settled in Medina. They settled “with (i.e., as confederates of – L.) the inhabitants of Rātij, who were Jewish, between the court of Qudāma (b. Maz‘ūn) and the court of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, in the Jabbāna”.<sup>18</sup> Rifā‘a b. al-Ḥārith b.

- 13 Ibn al-Kalbī calls them Mu‘āwiya b. Buhtha (omitting al-Ḥārith); I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 157b; Caskel, no. 122.
- 14 I. Rūsta, pp. 61–2: *fa-kāna mimman kāna ma’a yahūda min qabā’ili l-‘arabi qabla nuzūli l-Aws wa-l-Khazraj ‘alayhim B. Mu‘āwiya b. al-Ḥārith b. Buhtha b. Sulaym*. See also *Aghānī*, XIX, p. 95; Samh., I, p. 162.
- 15 Samh., I, pp. 163–4 (p. 163, l. 2: *wa-kāna mimman baqiya mina l-yahūdi hīna nazalat ‘alayhimi l-Aws wa-l-Khazraj jamā’āt, minhā [...] wa-minhā B. Mu‘āwiya, fī B. Umayya b. Zayd*).
- 16 There were two clans in Medina which carried the name Umayya b. Zayd, both belonging to the Aws. One was from the tribal group called *al-Ja’ādira* and the other was from the B. ‘Amr b. ‘Awf. It is hard to tell which of them is being referred to. Cf. also above, Ch. III, n. 73.
- 17 Samh. p. 162: [...] *wa-B. Murīd, ḥayy min Balī*; pp. 163–4: [...] *wa-minhā B. Murīd fī B. Khaṭma wa-Nā’imati Ibrāhīm b. Hishām* etc.
- 18 Samh., I, p. 762, l. 4: *wa-qad nazalat B. Dhakwān min B. Sulaym ma’a ahli Rātij mina l-yahūd mā bayna dār Qudāma ilā dār Ḥasan (sic) b. Zayd bi-l-Jabbāna*. See Lecker 1985, p. 53.

Buhtha had a son called Dhakwān,<sup>19</sup> but the aforementioned record seems to relate to the B. Dhakwān b. Tha'laba, who were also closely connected with Mecca.<sup>20</sup> While this record could relate to their settlement in Medina, it could also indicate that part of a tribal group camped in Rātij during the summer.<sup>21</sup>

There is some vague reference to Sulamī presence in the 'Āliya of Medina.<sup>22</sup> The *Manāsik* mentions in Baqī' al-Gharqad houses of Quraysh, the *Anṣār* and the B. Sulaym.<sup>23</sup>

19 I. Kalbi, *Jamh.*, fol. 161a.

20 See below, Ch. VI.

21 Samhūdi adduces the above report in the chapter entitled: "The places in which the *Muhājirūn* tribes settled and the building of the wall of Medina", ([...] *Fī manāzili l-qabā'il min al-muhājirīna thumma 'ittikhādhi s-sūri 'alā l-Madīna*). This could mean that their settlement took place at the time of the Prophet. It is not clear whether the Prophet's companion 'Antara adh-Dhakwāni belongs here. 'Antara was the confederate of the Khazraj clan B. Salima. He took part in the battle of Badr and was killed at Uḥud. For references to him see *Usd al-ghāba*, IV, pp. 151–2; *Iṣāba*, IV, p. 735, no. 6082; *Istī'āb*, III, p. 1246, no. 2047; I. Hishām, III, p. 133; Wāqidi, I, p. 170. There are conflicting records concerning the group within the B. Salima to which he was attached.

22 One of the mosques in which the Prophet prayed was "the mosque of the old woman" (*Masjid al-'ajūz*) that was located "near the grave", in the court of the B. Khaṭma (from the Aws). The old woman was from the Sulamī clan B. Zafar b. al-Ḥārith, Samh., pp. 872–3, 966–7. It was al-Barā' b. Ma'rūr's grave. It is not clear why he was buried there, far from the court of his clan, the B. 'Ubayd (from B. Salima – Khazraj). Qalyūbi, *an-Nubdha al-laṭīfa*, MS Nur Osmaniye 2935, fol. 38a, says that the mosque of the old woman is the mosque of the B. Khaṭma, near the brink ('*udwa*) of the *wādī*.

There was in the 'Āliya an estate called Su'āla, "which is called the estate of Sulaym" (*māl Sulaym*). It was granted by the Prophet to his Qurashī companion 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, Wāqidi, I, p. 379, l. 2 from bottom; I. Sa'd, II, p. 58 (Suwāla). However, cf. Ali 1956, p. 25=Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh*, IV, p. 315, no. 2963 (*al-bi'r, wa-huwa 'lladhī yuqālu lahu māl Sulaymān*).

23 *Manāsik*, p. 412; this probably relates to Sulamis who settled there in the Islamic period. Cf. Shammākh, *Dīwān*, p. 290.

## *The Nabīt and Sulaym*

The Nabīt tribal group (from Aws)<sup>24</sup> seems to have had a special relationship with Sulaym. In the pre-Islamic period Sulaym intervened in a feud within the Nabīt. There was fighting between the B. Ḥāritha and the B. ‘Abd al-Ashhal. A third Nabīt clan, the B. Ṣafar, was allied to the B. ‘Abd al-Ashhal, but both were defeated by the B. Ḥāritha, who killed a leader of the ‘Abd al-Ashhal. The B. Ḥāritha, who had shared their court with the B. ‘Abd al-Ashhal, expelled the latter clan and its members went to the land of B. Sulaym. Ḥuḍayr b. Simāk, the son of the slain leader, returned to Medina with the B. Sulaym to fight the B. Ḥāritha. The B. Ḥāritha were besieged in their fortress. Meanwhile other clans of the Aws, namely the B. ‘Amr b. ‘Awf and the B. Khaṭma, intervened on behalf of the B. Ḥāritha, demanding that one of three alternatives be adopted: either the B. Ḥāritha be expelled or blood-money be exacted for the slain man or peace be made. The ‘Abd al-Ashhal chose the first alternative and the B. Ḥāritha went into exile in Khaybar where they stayed for almost a year. Following that they reached an agreement with the B. ‘Abd al-Ashhal and were able to return to Medina.<sup>25</sup> This event took place roughly one generation before the *hijra*: Ḥuḍayr b. Simāk, who was still alive at the time and fought in the battle of Bu‘āth a few years before the *hijra*, was the father of Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr, who was ‘Abd al-Ashhal’s leader at the time of the Prophet. It is no accident that the Sulamī poet Khufāf b. Nudba lamented the death of Ḥuḍayr b. Simāk in Bu‘āth in a special poem.<sup>26</sup>

The links between the Nabīt and Sulaym may have been behind the request by unnamed groups from the Aws, in the time of the Prophet, to form an alliance with Sulaym. The Prophet said, “There is no alliance in Islam, though Islam strengthens the alliance of the *Jāhiliyya*”.<sup>27</sup>

24 On this tribal group cf. Lecker 1985, pp. 43f, 59.

25 Samh., I, p. 192.

26 See above, n. 12.

27 I. Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, p. 316: *lā ḥilfa fī l-islām wa-lā yazīdu l-islām ḥilfa l-jāhiliyya illā shiddatan*. Cf. above, Ch. I, n. 107.

Another Sulamī clan, the ‘Abs b. Rifā’a b. al-Ḥārith b. Buhtha, also had links with Medina: ‘Abbās b. Mirdās lamented the expulsion of the B. Naḍir and exchanged satirical verses on this matter with poets from the *Anṣār*.<sup>28</sup> However, the relations were not always friendly: in the pre-Islamic period, a brother of ‘Abbās called Yazīd killed Qays, the son of Abū Qays b. al-Aslat (from the B. Wā’il – Aws) “in one of their wars”.<sup>29</sup>

### *Contacts outside Medina*

Two or three generations before the time of the Prophet, there lived in Medina a wealthy man known for his large estates as well as for his stinginess. Uḥayḥa b. al-Julāḥ from the B. Jaḥjabā (one of the ‘Amr b. ‘Awf clans) owned a settlement called Ḥanadh in the Ḥijāz in which he grew palm trees. It was located in the land of Sulaym; more precisely, it was the border point between Sulaym and Muzayna.<sup>30</sup> Already in the

28 ‘Abbās b. Mirdās, *Dīwān*, pp. 38–41; I. Hishām, III, pp. 211–2; *Aghānī*, XIII, pp. 71–2.

29 *Aghānī*, XV, p. 161, l. 5 (Hārūn b. an-Nu‘mān b. al-Aslat killed Yazid in retaliation for his cousin Qays); I. Ḥazm; *Ansāb*, pp. 345–6 (Jarwal b. Jarwal b. an-Nu‘mān b. al-Aslat should, presumably, read: Jarwal [or Hārūn] b. an-Nu‘mān). But see the report in I. Qudāma, *Istibṣār*, p. 274, according to which Qays was still alive when his father died. Perhaps the name of the son killed in the *Jāhiliyya* is mistaken; alternatively, Abū Qays could have had two sons bearing the name Qays. Cf. the verse of Abū Qays in A. Qays b. al-Aslat, *Dīwān*, p. 64.

30 Samh., s.v. Ḥanadh: *qarya li-Uḥayḥa b. al-Julāḥ min a’rāḍi l-Madīna fihā nakhl*. The *a’rād al-Madīna* are said to be its *wādīs* in which there were villages and cultivated land; see *Maghānim*, s.v. al-‘Irḍ, pp. 258–9. But, presumably it indicates here that it was included (in the Islamic period) in the jurisdiction of Medina; see Appendix B, n. 27. (Kister 1977, p. 38 renders “environs”.) There are *rajaz* verses of Uḥayḥa referring to the growing of dates in Ḥanadh, Bakrī, s.v., II, p. 471. Another description of the same place says: a water-place of Sulaym and Muzayna which is the border point between the two tribes in the Ḥijāz, Yāqūt, s.v. Ḥanadh ([...] *wa-huwa l-manṣifu baynahumā bi-l-Ḥijāz*). Cf. above, Ch. I, n. 123.

pre-Islamic period a wealthy entrepreneur had an investment outside Medina; he must have had at least the tacit consent of Sulaym and Muzayna.

In several localities east and southeast of Medina Sulamīs and *Anṣār* shared settlements and water-places. The upper part of the *wādī* ar-Rumma belonged to the people of Medina and the B. Sulaym.<sup>31</sup> Ar-Riḥḍiyya between Medina and the *ma'din* B. Sulaym belonged to the *Anṣār* and the B. Sulaym.<sup>32</sup> In the settlement called aṣ-Ṣa'biyya, there was a well called an-Nāziya which was shared by the *Anṣār* and the B. Khufāf of the Imru'u l-Qays branch.<sup>33</sup>

The record concerning Ḥanadh indicates that the settlements shared by Sulamīs and Medinans could well date back to pre-Islamic times. An unusual piece of evidence refers to the security arrangements for Medinans in the territory of 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a: the tribal leader 'Āmir b. Mālik, who was nicknamed *mulā'ib al-asinna* ("the player with the spears"), received a certain quantity of dates from the people of Yathrib (Medina) so that any of them who set out to Najd would be under his protection.<sup>34</sup> No parallel record relating to Sulaym could be found. However, presumably there were similar arrangements with them.

31 Lughda, p. 79.

32 See above, Ch. I, n. 39.

33 Above, Ch. I, n. 52.

34 *Wa-kāna li-'Āmir b. Mālik min ahli Yathrib kīla min tumrānihim 'alā anna man ṭala'a Najdan minhum fa-huwa fī khafārati 'Āmir b. Mālik*, Ḥassān, *Dīwān*, II, p. 176 (the record appears in one of the MSS. of the *Dīwān*).

## VI

# Sulaym and Mecca

Whereas in Medina we could trace Sulamī groups which settled there (though there were also Sulamī individuals in Medina), much of the evidence concerning Sulaym's links with Mecca<sup>1</sup> concerns individuals.<sup>2</sup> Usually they kept their Sulamī affiliation.<sup>3</sup>

The sources offer a variety of records on different aspects of Sulaym's links with Mecca. The genealogical information on pre-Islamic Mecca yields a body of evidence on Sulamis who settled there; in a few cases this could be complemented and supported by geographical information.

Although we know about Mecca's relations with the B. Sulaym much more than we know about Medina's relations with them, it seems unwise to conclude that Mecca had closer links with them.<sup>4</sup> Even concerning Mecca we may not have a balanced picture, since the different Qurashī clans did not receive equal shares of attention in the sources. The B. 'Abd Manāf are very prominent in the evidence adduced below but this does

1 Cf. Lammens, *Mecque*, pp. 196–8; Sprenger, *Mohammad*, III, pp. 152–3.

2 Landau-Tasseron, *Ridda*, pp. 211–4, discusses the Mecca-Sulaym links in great detail. On the confederates of Mecca, see now Kister (Colloquium) 1985.

3 One could expect the Sulamis who settled in Mecca to offer various services to their fellow-tribesmen, e.g. in the time of pilgrimage. No support for this assumption could be found.

4 Unfortunately, we do not have a Medinan counterpart of Ibn Ḥabīb's *Kitāb al-Munammaq*.

not necessarily imply that their links with Sulaym were more intensive than those of other clans.

### *The B. Dhakwān b. Tha'laba b. Buhtha*

The B. Dhakwān b. Tha'laba seem to have been the closest Sulamī allies of Mecca both before Islam and in the early Islamic period.

Muḥammad b. Khuzā'ī was involved in Abraha's expedition against Mecca.<sup>5</sup> In the context of Abraha's preparations to destroy the Ka'ba, Ibn Ishāq<sup>6</sup> reports: there were with Abraha people from the Arabs who had come to him to seek his favour. Among them was Muḥammad b. Khuzā'ī b. Ḥuzāba<sup>7</sup> adh-Dhakwānī as-Sulamī with a group from his tribe. With him was also his brother, Qays b. Khuzā'ī.<sup>8</sup> Ibn Ishāq also says that Abraha reportedly crowned Muḥammad b. Khuzā'ī and appointed him as the commander of (a troop from) Muḍar. He ordered him to carry out (religious) propaganda among the people in order to make them perform the pilgrimage to al-Qullays, the church he had built.<sup>9</sup>

The *Munammaq* has a variant account.<sup>10</sup> Muḥammad and Qays, sons of Khuzā'ī b. Ḥuzāba b. Murra b. Hilāl,<sup>11</sup> were cast off by their tribe

5 See Kister 1965c; Kister 1972, pp. 61–76.

6 In Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, II, p. 131.

7 The name Ḥuzāba is not unknown: there was a Tamīmī poet called Abū Ḥuzāba, I. Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, p. 477.

8 There follows a story about a meal of testicles offered by Abraha to the Arabs; they refused to eat it.

9 *Thumma inna Abraha tawwaja Muḥammad b. Khuzā'ī wa-ammārahu 'alā Muḍara, wa-amarahu an yasira fi n-nāsi yad'ūhum ilā ḥajji l-Qullays*. I render *ammārahu* as “appointed him as commander” because, as remarked by Kister (1972, p. 72, on grounds of the testicles story), there were Muḍarī troops in the army of Abraha. In addition, a verse of his brother Qays mentions his role in command. It is not clear, though, whether Muḥammad took part in the expedition itself; see below.

10 Pp. 68–72. See also Kister 1972, p. 72.

11 The pedigree is abridged; see below.

(*wa-kānā khali'ayni*) and settled in Najrān. They then joined Abraha's army. The testicles affair took place during the expedition of Abraha; the Muḍarīs, who refused to eat testicles, also refused to prostrate themselves before the cross. Muḥammad b. Khuzā'i was sent with a group on an espionage mission, but God sent a thunderbolt to kill them all.<sup>12</sup> The former report has a different account of Muḥammad's death: when he reached the territory of Kināna (in order to carry out his missionary propaganda) – and news about his mission had reached the people of Tihāma – they sent a man from Hudhayl to kill him. Muḥammad's brother, Qays, informed Abraha about the murder, and the latter vowed to raid the B. Kināna and destroy the Ka'ba.<sup>13</sup> This account indicates that Muḥammad had died before the expedition took place. It is not clear which version about the time of his death is correct. In addition, the Muḍarīs' refusal to bow to the cross is at some variance with the statement that Muḥammad b. Khuzā'i was a Christian:<sup>14</sup> he was one of those named Muḥammad who preceded the Prophet Muḥammad.<sup>15</sup> Ibn Sa'd mentions five, two of whom were Christians: a Tamīmī, who was a bishop, and our Muḥammad. The record about the latter Ibn Sa'd quotes from Ibn Ishāq: Muḥammad b. Khuzā'i b. Ḥuzāba from the B. Dhakwān was called Muḥammad out of a desire that he should become a prophet. He came to Abraha in the Yemen and "was with him in his religion" until he died. When he achieved consideration, his brother Qays b. Khuzā'i boasted:

12 See also Kister 1965c, p. 429=I. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, p. 130: *Muḥammad b. Khuzā'i* [...] *wa-kānā fī jayshi Abraha ma'a l-fil*. See also the verses of Qays b. Khuzā'i describing a selected unit of Abyssinians surrounding Abraha in: Kister 1972, p. 72=I. Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, p. 70.

13 The involvement of Kināna and Hudhayl indicates that Muḥammad operated in the vicinity of Mecca.

14 Incidentally, the mother of Abū l-A'war as-Sulamī (from Dhakwān) was a Christian; see *EF<sup>2</sup>*. s.v. (H. Lammens)=I. Rusta, p. 213 (*al-ashraf abnā'u n-naṣṣrāniyyāt*).

15 Supposedly, the anticipated appearance of a prophet called Muḥammad was common knowledge in Arabia and people from different tribes called their sons by this name, hoping that they would become prophets.



“And the owner of the crown Muḥammad is from us, and his banner is fluttering in the most vehement part of the deadly fight”.<sup>16</sup>

Though some details of his career are disputed, it is clear that Muḥammad b. Khuzā‘ī, who participated in the hostile activities of Abraha against Mecca, belonged<sup>17</sup> to the B. Dhakwān b. Tha‘laba who were (perhaps: were to become) close allies of Mecca. However, different parts of the clan may have been involved.

The complete pedigree of Muḥammad, compiled from different sources, is: Muḥammad b. Khuzā‘ī b. ‘Alqama b. Ḥuzāba b. Muḥārib b. Murra b. Hilāl b. Fālij b. Dhakwān. Using the powerful tool of genealogical information, links between Muḥammad and his fellow-tribesmen can be elucidated. The Dhakwānis who were linked with Mecca were descendants of al-Awqaṣ<sup>18</sup> b. Murra b. Hilāl, not of his brother Muḥārib (sometimes called: Muḥāribi) b. Murra b. Hilāl.<sup>19</sup> The

16 I. Sa’d, I, p. 169: *fa-atā Abraha bi-l-Yaman fa-kāna ma’ahu ‘alā dinihi ḥattā māta, fa-lammā wajuha qāla akhūhu Qays b. Khuzā‘ī: fa-dhālikum dhū t-tāji minnā Muḥammadun wa-rāyatuhu fī ḥawmati l-mawti takhfiqu*. See also Iṣāba, s.v. Muḥammad b. Khuzā‘ī b. ‘Alqama, from the B. Dhakwān, VI, pp. 334–5, no. 8521. The crown here seems to imply military command. Aṭ-Ṭabarānī (quoted in the *Khizāna*, III, p. 361, l. 3 from bottom) states that Muḥammad was actually engaged in fighting, not in propaganda: Abraha had crowned him and ordered him to raid the B. Kināna, who killed him (i.e., in battle); this was one of the reasons for the affair of the Elephant. A slightly different pedigree is provided by Ibn Ḥajar, again, in the list of those called Muḥammad (*Fath al-bārī*, VI, p. 405, l. 8 from bottom): Muḥammad b. Khuzā‘ī b. ‘Alqama b. Ḥurāba(!) as-Sulamī from the B. Dhakwān. ‘Alqama appears also in the *Muḥabbar*, p. 130, who has a fuller pedigree: Muḥammad b. Khuzā‘ī b. ‘Alqama (Ḥuzāba is missing) b. Muḥārib b. Murra b. Hilāl b. Fālij b. Dhakwān as-Sulamī. He adds that he was in the army of Abraha with the Elephant.

17 But cf. above, n. 12.

18 “The short-necked”, cf. Jāḥiẓ, *Burṣān*, p. 429.

19 Also mentioned are ‘Ātika bint Murra b. Hilāl and Thābit b. Murra b. Hilāl; see below, n. 32.

Prophet's companion Siyāba b. 'Āṣim b. Shaybān (read: Sibā') b. Khuzā'i b. Muḥāribī was, as is clear from his aforementioned pedigree, the great-grandson of Muḥammad's father Khuzā'i.<sup>20</sup> Siyāba's grandfather Sibā' was Muḥammad b. Khuzā'i's brother. It is well-known that Abraha operated in the time of the Prophet's grandfather 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.<sup>21</sup>

Khuzā'i b. Muḥāribī also appears in the pedigree of another companion of the Prophet: Ṣafwān b. al-Mu'aṭṭal b. Raḥḍa b. al-Mu'ammal b. Khuzā'i b. Muḥāribī b. Murra b. Hilāl b. Fālij b. Dhakwān.<sup>22</sup>

The Sulamī warrior al-Jaḥḥāf b. Ḥakīm<sup>23</sup> was the nephew of Siyāba b. 'Āṣim b. Shaybān b. Khuzā'i. Al-Jaḥḥāf's pedigree reveals that Sibā' (not Shaybān) was the correct name and that between 'Āṣim and Sibā', Qays should be added: al-Jaḥḥāf b. Ḥakīm b. 'Āṣim b. Qays b. Sibā' b. Khuzā'i b. Muḥāribī (or Muḥārib) b. Murra b. Hilāl b. Fālij b. Dhakwān.<sup>24</sup>

20 Khalifa, *Ṭabaqāt*, pp. 50–1 (with Sibā', not Shaybān); *Isti'āb*, II, pp. 691–2, no. 1151; *Iṣāba*, III, p. 233–4, no. 3623; *Uṣd al-ghāba*, II, p. 382.

21 According to the *Uṣd al-ghāba*, Siyāba came from Kūfa (to the Jazīra) with his nephew al-Jaḥḥāf b. Ḥakīm. The same source adds that in Sarūj and Ruhā there are many descendants of Siyāba. (Cf. on Sulaym in the Jazīra Oppenheim, *Beduinen*, I, p. 222.) Siyāba is mentioned in the *ḥadīth al-ghayth* of ash-Sha'bī, Ya'qūb b. Sufyān, *Ma'rifa*, II, p. 599, l. 9; *Iṣāba*, III, p. 234; A. Nu'aym, *Hilya*, IV, p. 326, l. 9. The story indicates that Siyāba belonged to the circle close to the caliph 'Abd al-Malik.

22 I. al-Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 162b; *Uṣd al-ghāba*, III, p. 26 (with Muḥārib, not Muḥāribī). Other sources have variants; see Ḥāzimī, *Ujāla*, p. 62; the entries on Ṣafwān in the dictionaries; Khalifa, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 51 (Ruḥayḍa instead of Raḥḍa). They all omit al-Mu'ammal. Khalifa reports that he had a court in Baṣra and that he died in the vicinity of Shimshāt in the Jazīra. On Ṣafwān see above, Ch. IV, n. 5.

23 See above, Ch. III, n. 133.

24 Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1196b. In the *Aghāni*, XI, p. 57, Murra and Hilāl are missing; in the *Iṣāba*, I, p. 546, no. 1327, Murra is missing. "Ḥakīm b. Umayya" in Jumaḥī, I, p. 482, no. 663, is an error, and should read: Ḥakīm b. 'Āṣim; see the note of Jumaḥī's editor. The claim found in Ḥamza, *Durra fākhira*, I, pp. 336–7, no. 538; Maydānī, *Amthāl*, II, pp. 88–9, no. 2819 (under *Aṣṭak mina l-Jaḥḥāf*); and Zamakh., *Mustaqṣā*, I, pp. 192–3, no. 770 (under *ashaddu 'aṣabiyyatan mina l-Jaḥḥāf*), that al-Jaḥḥāf was 'Umayr b.

Ḥuzāba b. Muḥārib can be found in the pedigree of another prominent warrior in the Umayyad period, namely 'Umayr b. al-Ḥubāb. He is the closest relative of Muḥammad b. Khuzā'i known to me: 'Umayr b. al-Ḥubāb b. Ja'da b. Iyās b. Ḥuzāba b. Muḥāribī b. Murra b. Hilāl b. Fālij b. Dhakwān b. Tha'laba b. Buhtha.<sup>25</sup>

The intense interest of some genealogists in the "maternal pedigree" of the caliphs makes it possible to trace a link between the descendants of Muḥārib b. Murra b. Hilāl and al-Awqaṣ b. Murra b. Hilāl. We have already said that Muḥammad b. Khuzā'i was a descendant of Muḥārib; the descendants of al-Awqaṣ were, as we shall see, close allies of Mecca. The great-grandmother of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān was Arwā bint Abī Mu'ayt from the B. 'Abd Shams. Her mother was Sālīma bint Abī Umayya Ḥāritha b. al-Awqaṣ b. Murra b. Hilāl b. Fālij b. Dhakwān. Sālīma's mother was Umm Muḥammad bint Khuzā'i b. Ḥuzāba b. Murrā b. Hilāl b. Fālij<sup>26</sup> (this is an abridged pedigree). In other words, Muḥammad b. Khuzā'i's sister was married to the grandfather of Ḥakīm b. Umayya, Abū Umayya Ḥāritha b. al-Awqaṣ and bore him Sālīma.<sup>27</sup>

According to al-Kalbī the B. Dhakwān (i.e., Dhakwān b. Tha'laba) from

al-Ḥubāb's paternal cousin, does not seem correct. In the *Naqā'id*, I, p. 401, l. 5, his father's name is erroneously vocalised Ḥukaym; cf. also *EP*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Bishr (C. E. Bosworth). Incidentally, the birth of al-Jahḥāf in Baṣra (*Aghānī*, XI, p. 61, l. 11; *Jumāhī*, I, p. 479, no. 656) indicates that some of the B. Dhakwān b. Tha'laba settled there. On al-Jahḥāf see also Akḥṭal, *Dīwān*, I, p. 32.

- 25 I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 162b; Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1196a (with new material on his role in the time of 'Abd al-Malik). I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 264, has: 'Umayr [...] b. Ḥudhāfa(!) b. Muḥārib. An abridged and slightly variant pedigree appears in the *Naqā'id*, II, p. 1038, l. 3: 'Umayr b. al-Ḥubāb b. Iyās b. Ja'd b. Ḥuzāba b. Muḥārib b. Hilāl b. Fālij b. Dhakwān b. Buhtha b. Sulaym; the *Naqā'id Jarīr wa-l-Akhṭal*, p. 26, l. 6, has: 'Umayr b. al-Ḥubāb b. Ja'da. On 'Umayr see also Jāhīz, *Burṣān*, pp. 391–2; *Iqd*, I, p. 117, l. 7.

- 26 I. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, p. 23.

- 27 And of course Umayya, the father of Ḥakīm b. Umayya; on Umayya see below.

the B. Sulaym were *hums*.<sup>28</sup> The beginnings of their link with Mecca are somewhat befogged. One report mentions a marriage link. Quṣayy's father Kilāb married a woman from Dhakwān who bore him Quṣayy. Her name was 'Ātika bint Hilāl b. Fālij b. Hilāl,<sup>29</sup> the mother of Hāshim's grandfather (*umm jadd Hāshim*, i.e., Quṣayy). However, there is no unanimity about this marriage.<sup>30</sup>

Another report dates the beginning of the link two generations later: Murra b. Hilāl<sup>31</sup> came to Mecca and confederated 'Abd Manāf b. Quṣayy (*fa-hālaḥ 'Abda Manāf b. Quṣayy naḥṣahu*). 'Abd Manāf married his daughter 'Ātika; she bore him three sons: Hāshim, 'Abd Shams and al-Muṭṭalib. The three had half-brothers in Sulaym.<sup>32</sup> According to one version,<sup>33</sup> one of those half-brothers is al-Ḥārith b. Ḥanash as-Sulamī. Another, more detailed version<sup>34</sup> mentions al-Ḥārith b. Ḥabash b. 'Āmir b. Rifā'a b. al-Ḥārith b. Buhtha. The correct name is Ḥabash. Ibn al-Kalbī reports<sup>35</sup> that Ḥabash b. 'Āmir was "their *sayyid*" in his time. He had a son called Riyāb who was, according to Ibn Da'b, the brother of Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf on his mother's side. Ibn al-Kalbī adds that he did not hear it from any other source.<sup>36</sup>

It could be claimed that the two reports do not necessarily contradict

28 Azraqī, I, p. 179: [...] Ibn Ishāq < al-Kalbī < Abū Ṣāliḥ < Ibn 'Abbās; I. 'Arabī, *Muḥāḍara*, I, p. 357 (Dhakrān is a misprint). But cf. Kister 1965b, p. 141=I. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, pp. 178-9.

29 Not Fālij b. Dhakwān b. Tha'laba.

30 See below.

31 b. Fālij b. Dhakwān b. Tha'laba.

32 Balādh., *Ansāb*, I, pp. 58, 61, 63; I. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, p. 456.

33 Balādh., *Ansāb*, I, p. 59; I. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, p. 162; I. Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, p. 33.

34 Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, p. 14.

35 *Jamh.*, fol. 161b.

36 See also Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1193b (Ḥanash instead of Ḥabash). Balādhuri adds that according to some, Ḥanash also begot al-Ḥārith, who was Hāshim's half-brother; but according to Balādhuri, Ibn al-Kalbī denied it. On (Muḥammad) Ibn Da'b see *Tahdhīb at-tahdhīb*, IX, p. 153, no. 220.

each other. But it is more likely that they are two independent accounts of the beginning of the link between this Sulamī clan and Mecca.

A third account of the beginning of this link places it two generations later since it mentions Umayya b. 'Abd Shams, the grandson of 'Abd Manāf on one side, and Ḥāritha b. al-Awqaṣ, the grandson of Murra b. Hilāl on the other. Inspired by religious motives, this account says, Ḥāritha came to live near the *ḥaram*. He became a confederate of Umayya b. 'Abd Shams and married his sister Umayma bint 'Abd Shams, who bore him Umayya b. Ḥāritha.<sup>37</sup> Again, one could argue that this report does not contradict the former reports: although Ḥāritha's grandfather settled in Mecca, Ḥāritha himself lived elsewhere and only later settled in Mecca. But it is more likely that this report implies that Ḥāritha was the first member of this family to settle in Mecca.

Ḥāritha's sister 'Ātika bint al-Awqaṣ b. Murra b. Hilāl, the nephew of the aforementioned 'Ātika bint Murra, was perhaps even closer than her to the Prophet, since she was married to 'Abd Manāf b. Zuhra (from the Zuhra clan) and bore him Wahb b. 'Abd Manāf. Wahb was the father of the Prophet's mother, Āmina bint Wahb. However, there is another version concerning the identity of Wahb's mother.<sup>38</sup>

37 Landau-Tasseron, *Ridda*, p. 213=I. Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, pp. 285–6 (*fa-hādha awwalu ḥilf dakhala Makka, thumma kānat ba'dahu l-aḥlāf*; but cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 283–4); *Aghānī*, XIX, p. 73, l. 5 from bottom.

38 I. Athīr, *Nihāya*, s.v. '*t.k.*', III, p. 180; Zamakh., *Fā'iḳ*, s.v. '*t.k.*', II, p. 390. See the other version in Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, p. 261. And cf. Balādh., *Ansāb*, I, p. 534, no. 1079 (b. Wahb is erroneous; the amendment suggested by the editor, 'Abd Manāf instead of Wahb b. 'Abd Manāf, is wrong).

The oldest 'Ātika, 'Ātika bint Hilāl, is not mentioned by Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 6b, who reports that 'Ātika bint Murra was the first of the 'Awātik who "bore" the Prophet. Her pedigree in this source is: 'Ātika bint Murra b. Hilāl b. Fālij b. Dhakwān b. Tha'laba b. al-Ḥārith b. Buhtha b. Sulaym. The mention of al-Ḥārith seems erroneous: elsewhere in the same book (fol. 162) Ibn al-Kalbī refers to this group as the B. Tha'laba b. Buhtha, without al-Ḥārith. I. Athīr, *Nihāya*, s.v. '*t.k.*', III, p. 180, mentions 'Ātika bint Hilāl b. Fālij b. Dhakwān, the mother of 'Abd Manāf b. Quṣayy. He also remarks that each of the

Incidentally, 'Abd Manāf's wife 'Ātika bint Murra enjoyed, together with a few other women,<sup>39</sup> a special privilege: when she married a man she had the right to divorce him if she wished. A breakfast which she prepared for the man was the token of consent.<sup>40</sup>

The above marriage link (or links) and other links which followed are reflected in the saying ascribed to the Prophet: *anā ibnu l-'Awātik min Sulaym*, "I am the son of the 'Awātik (plural form of 'Ātika) from Sulaym".<sup>41</sup> Another version omits the last two words.<sup>42</sup>

In all there were twelve women called 'Ātika in the Prophet's "maternal pedigree", three of whom are said to be from Sulaym.<sup>43</sup> Since 'Ātika bint

'Awātik was the paternal aunt of the other (*fa-l-'ūlā mina l-'Awātik 'ammatu th-thāniya* [...]). Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, p. 14 has another version concerning 'Abd Manāf's mother. Notice that of the three 'Awātik said to have been in the maternal pedigree of the Prophet, only the mother of Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf is not disputed; about the other two there are other versions. Indeed, the fact that the 'Awātik were so closely related to each other leads us to think that the genealogical information here is too neat and hence doubtful.

39 Among them, Salmā bint 'Amr b. Zayd b. Labid (the Khazraji mother of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib) and the notorious Umm Khārija.

40 Ḥamza, *Durra fākhira*, I, p. 225; Maydānī, *Amthāl*, I, p. 347, no. 1871: [...] *kāna amruhā ilayhā, in shā'at aqāmat wa-in shā'at dhahabat*. Cf. Zamakh., *Mustaqṣā*, I, p. 166, no. 674; Bakrī, *Faṣl al-maqāl*, pp. 500–1.

41 See e.g. *Sira shāmiyya*, I, pp. 384–5.

42 The list of the women called Fāṭima in the direct and secondary pedigree of the Prophet includes one woman from Sulaym, Fāṭima bint al-Ḥārith b. Buhtha. She bore a Fāṭima from Hawāzin who bore 'Amr b. 'Ā'idh al-Makhzūmī. 'Amr's daughter Fāṭima bore the Prophet's father 'Abdallah, Balādh., *Ansāb*, I, p. 532, no. 1071; Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, pp. 343–4; I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 153a-b; I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 270, l. 16 (read: Jaḥwash instead of al-Ḥārith). The passage in Ibn al-Kalbī is illuminating: by virtue of their inclusion in the maternal pedigree of the Prophet, the B. Jaḥwash were "the maternal uncles of the Prophet" (*wa-ammā Jaḥwash b. Mu'āwiya fa-lam yusamma min wuldihi aḥad ghayr Umm 'Amr bint 'Ā'idh al-Jaḥwashī, akhwāl rasūli 'llāhi ṣ.*). 'Ā'idh is erroneous; cf. the sources listed above.

43 Kister (Colloquium) 1985, p. 39=*Lisān al-'arab*, s.v. 't.k.; Balādh., *Ansāb*, I, p. 533; see

Murra b. Hilāl reportedly gave birth to the Prophet's great-grandfather Hāshim, she is considered by Ibn Sa'd and Ibn al-Kalbī (who was possibly Ibn Sa'd's source) to be the closest 'Ātika to the Prophet.<sup>44</sup>

The Prophet is reported to have uttered the aforementioned saying on the day of Ḥunayn.<sup>45</sup> Not surprisingly, this saying was reported by a member of the B. Dhakwān b. Tha'laba, the above-mentioned Siyāba b. 'Āsim.<sup>46</sup> The Prophet was of course referring to women from Siyāba's own clan. There were three (or, according to Ibn al-Kalbī, two<sup>47</sup>) women from the B. Dhakwān b. Tha'laba in the "maternal pedigree" of the Prophet.<sup>48</sup>

also I. Ḥabīb, *Ummahāt an-nabī* ṣ., p. 11 ('Ātika bint Murra b. Hilāl, Hāshim's mother).

- 44 I. Sa'd, VIII, p. 158; I. Sa'd, I, p. 62, l. 5 from bottom (...*wa-hiya aqrabu l-'Awātik ilā n-nabiyyi* ṣ.); Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, II, p. 252; on her see also Balādh., *Ansāb*, I, Index, s.v. 'Ātika was also the mother of Tumādīr, Ḥanna (or Ḥayya), Qilāba, Umm al-Aktham Hāla, Barra and Umm Sufyān (the last two names may refer to the same woman), daughters of 'Abd Manāf, I. Sa'd, I, p. 75; Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, p. 14. There were famous 'Awātik in Kinda as well, cf. no. 71 in the *mu'allaqa* al-Ḥārith b. Ḥilliza, Anbārī, *Sharḥ qaṣā'id*, p. 494. The 'Awātik-investigation is carried further by I. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, p. 48: the mother of Murra b. Hilāl was 'Ātika bint Murra b. 'Adī b. Aslam b. Afṣā, who was the father of Khuzā'a or, in another version, 'Ātika bint Jābir b. Qunfudh b. Mālik b. 'Awf b. Imri'i l-Qays b. Buhtha. The mother of Hilāl b. Fālij was 'Ātika bint 'Uṣayya b. Khufāf b. Imri'i l-Qays b. Buhtha. These records, apart from preserving important facts concerning the Prophet, widened the circle of Sulami clans in the maternal lineage of the Prophet by including the B. Qunfudh and the B. 'Uṣayya, both from the Imru'u l-Qays branch.

- 45 *Naqā'id*, p. 403, l. 7. Abū 'Ubayda quotes on this *al-'ulamā' mina l-muḥaddithina*. The Prophet reportedly chanted on attacking the pagans: *anā n-nabiyyu lā kadhib anā 'bnu 'Abdi l-Muṭṭalib anā 'bnu l-'Awātik*. On the poor rhyming of 'Awātik with al-Muṭṭalib cf. e.g. Wāqidī, III, p. 947.
- 46 Khalifa, *Ṭabaqāt*, pp. 50–1; *Istī'āb*, II, pp. 691–2, no. 1151; *Iṣāba*, III, p. 233–4, no. 3623; *Usd al-ghāba*, II, p. 382.
- 47 See above, the latter part of n. 38.
- 48 Incidentally, the Sulamīs who aided an-Nafs az-Zakiyya in 145/762 said, *yā amira*

As has already been pointed out by Landau-Tasseron,<sup>49</sup> the Sulamī troops at Qudayd, before the conquest of Mecca, demanded to be in the vanguard of the army, reminding the Prophet that they were his maternal uncles. It seems that by virtue of the marriage links of one Sulamī clan,<sup>50</sup> namely the B. Dhakwān b. Tha‘laba, other Sulamī clans considered themselves related to the Prophet. Similarly the paternal cousin of ‘Abbās b. Mirdās, Qays b. Nushba,<sup>51</sup> is reported to have addressed his clan saying that they were the Prophet’s maternal uncles.<sup>52</sup> It seems plausible that genealogical records, which otherwise had little significance, were revived when found to be expedient. There was no need for this before the expedition against Mecca - the first instance of cooperation between Sulaym and the Prophet.

According to Ibn al-Kalbī, Ḥakīm b. Umayya (the grandson of the aforementioned Ḥāritha b. al-Awqaṣ) was the confederate of the B. Umayya b. ‘Abd Shams; another unspecified source says that he was the confederate of the B. ‘Abd Manāf.<sup>53</sup> It seems that the former version is to be preferred: there were many marriages between this Dhakwānī family

*l-mu‘minīna, naḥnu akhwāluka wa-jirānuka* etc., Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, VII, p. 581, l. 13. For a further development of the above theme, see the *ḥadīth* in *Istī‘āb*, II, p. 692 (virgins from Sulaym breast-feeding the Prophet, *anna rasūla ‘llāh ṣ. marra bi-niswa abkār min B. Sulaym fa-akhrajna thudiyyahunna fa-waḍa‘nahā fī fī rasūli ‘llāhi ṣ. fa-darrat*).

49 *Ridda*, p. 225=Wāqidi, II, 812f.

50 But cf. below, the end of n. 52.

51 *Iṣāba*, V, p. 503, no. 7247; *Usd al-ghāba*, IV, p. 228. The pedigree in I. Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, p. 164, makes it clear that he was his cousin: Qays b. Nushba b. Abi ‘Āmir.

52 *Fa-innakum akhwāluhu*, *Iṣāba*, V, p. 503, no. 7247. In another version (see the dictionaries quoted above) the speaker is al-Aṣamm b. ‘Abbās ar-Ri‘lī (*Usd al-ghāba*) or al-Aṣamm ar-Ri‘lī, whose name is ‘Abbās (*Iṣāba*). See an expression to the same effect ascribed to ‘Abbās b. Mirdās, *Aghānī*, XIII, p. 65, l. 8 from bottom. But cf. ‘Abbās’ verse in *Hajārī*, p. 119, which states that Sulaym aided the Prophet although there were no family links between them (*wa-‘llāhu faḍḍalanā bi-naṣri nabiyyihi qidman wa-lam taku baynanā arḥām*). In a verse of Jarīr (*Naqā‘id*, I, p. 403) the ‘Awātik are a virtue of all the Qays ‘Aylān tribes.

53 I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 162a; Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1196a.



and the B. 'Abd Shams, although there was at least one marriage with the B. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf (as well as marriages with other Qurashī clans). Further evidence on the relationship between these Sulamīs and the B. 'Abd Shams is adduced below. It concerns Abū l-A'war and his father, the properties owned by the Sulamīs in Mecca and the occurrence<sup>54</sup> of the names Sufyān, 'Abd Shams and Umayya among the Sulamīs.

Ḥakīm b. Umayya b. Ḥāritha married Ḍa'īfa bint al-Āṣ b. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams.<sup>55</sup> 'Utba b. Rabi'a b. 'Abd Shams married Ḥakīm's sister Ṣafīyya bint Umayya, who bore him Hind (the mother of the caliph Mu'āwīya) as well as Umm Kulthūm and Fāṭima.<sup>56</sup> Ḥakīm's other sister, Sālīma, married Abū Mu'ayṭ b. Abī 'Amr b. Umayya and bore him 'Uqba b. Abī Mu'ayṭ and his sister Arwā.<sup>57</sup> As for the B. Hāshim: Ḥakīm's son Awfā married 'Azza bint Abī Lahab.<sup>58</sup> There was also a marriage link with the B. Nawfal b. 'Abd Manāf: Umayya b. Ḥāritha b. al-Awqaṣ was married to Āmina bint Nawfal b. 'Abd Manāf who bore him Ṣafīyya.<sup>59</sup>

There were also marriages with Qurashī clans other than the B. 'Abd Manāf.<sup>60</sup> The B. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā: the aforementioned Sālīma was also married to Ṣafwān b. Nawfal b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā and bore him Busra.<sup>61</sup> The B. Āmir b. Lu'ayy: Shammākh b. Sa'id b. Qānif b. al-Awqaṣ married Sahla, the daughter of Suhayl b. 'Amr, who bore him Bukayr (or 'Āmir).<sup>62</sup> The B. 'Abd ad-Dār: Shayba b. 'Uthmān b. Abī Ṭalḥa married

54 Already noticed by Landau-Tasseron, *op. cit.*, p. 242, n. 38.

55 I. Sa'd, VIII, p. 158, l. 2; she bore him Khawla bint Ḥakīm who was to become 'Uthmān b. Maẓ'un's wife.

56 I. Sa'd, VIII, pp. 235, 238; I. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, p. 19.

57 I. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, p. 23 (the *b.* before Ḥāritha is superfluous); I. Kalbi/Farrāj, I, p. 492.

58 She bore him 'Ubayda, Sa'id and Ibrāhīm, I. Kalbi, *Jamh.*, fol. 116b; *Iṣāba*, VIII, p. 25.

59 I. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, p. 19. On another link between the B. Nawfal and the B. Ri'l from Sulaym, see below, n. 128.

60 An uncertain marriage link with Zuhra was mentioned above, n. 38.

61 I. Sa'd, VIII, p. 245; I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 120, l. 3.

62 I. Sa'd, VIII, p. 270; Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, p. 420; *Iṣāba*, VII, p. 716, no. 11346.

Umm 'Uthmān Barra bint Sufyān b. Sa'id b. Qānif b. al-Awqaṣ.<sup>63</sup> The B. Makhzūm: al-Musayyab b. Ḥazn al-Makhzūmī married Umm Sa'id bint Ṣakhr (or 'Uthmān) b. Ḥakīm b. Umayya.<sup>64</sup> The B. 'Adī b. Ka'b: an indirect link with them was formed when al-Khaṭṭāb b. Nufayl and Ḥakīm were married (at different periods) to the same woman, Asmā' bint Wahb b. Ḥabīb b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd b. Qu'ayn from the B. Asad. To the former she bore Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb ('Umar's brother) and to the latter – 'Uthmān (or Awfā) b. Ḥakīm.<sup>65</sup> The B. Sahm: Abū Sufyān's confederate Abū l-A'war 'Amr b. Sufyān had a Sahmī wife.<sup>66</sup> Abū l-A'war was also a son of a Sahmī woman.<sup>67</sup> The B. Jumaḥ: as already mentioned Khawla bint Ḥakīm b. Umayya, herself a daughter of a woman from 'Abd Shams, was married to the Prophet's companion 'Uthmān b. Maṣ'ūn al-Jumaḥī.<sup>68</sup>

In sum, members of this Sulamī family married into some of the most important families of Quraysh. It appears as if the Qurashīs were eager to establish family links with them.

63 I. Sa'd, s.v. *Umm wuld Shayba*, VIII, pp. 469, 313; *Iṣāba*, VIII, pp. 258–9. Cf. *Istī'āb*, IV, p. 1946: Umm 'Uthmān bint Sufyān al-Qurashiyya ash-Shaybiyya al-'Abdariyya. And cf. the marriage link of this family with Ḥajjāj b. 'Ilāṭ, below, n. 91.

64 She bore him the famous scholar Sa'id b. al-Musayyab, as well as as-Sā'ib, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān, 'Umar, Abū Bakr and Muḥammad, *Iṣāba*, VIII, p. 220; Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, p. 345.

65 Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, pp. 347–8 ('Uthmān was the grandfather of Sa'id b. al-Musayyab from his mother's side; but cf. above); Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1196a.

66 *Iṣāba*, IV, p. 641, l. 8.

67 Qurayba bint Bishr b. 'Abd b. Sa'd b. Sahm, Khalifa, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 51. Incidentally, his grandmother was Arwā bint Umayya b. 'Abd Shams, Kister 1981, p. 259.

68 I. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, p. 407, lists her as one of the B. Nawfal b. 'Abd Manāf(!). See her pedigree in *Iṣāba*, VII, p. 621; cf. I. Sa'd, VIII, p. 158; cf. also Ṭabarānī, *Ṣaghīr*, II, pp. 98–9 (Khawla bint Ḥakīm al-Anṣāriyya – she was presumably called al-Anṣāriyya because when her husband made the *hijra* she came with him); *Iṣāba*, VII, pp. 622–3.

*Al-Muhtasib*

Ḥakīm b. Umayya who, as already mentioned, was a confederate of the B. ‘Abd Shams b. ‘Abd Manāf, held an office of authority in pre-Islamic Mecca. His title was *al-muhtasib*; this makes him a pre-Islamic holder of this title.<sup>69</sup> Kister refers to his appointment as proof of the high position that a *ḥalīf* could achieve in Mecca.<sup>70</sup>

This pre-Islamic *muhtasib* can best be described as the supervisor of law and order. According to Fākihi, he was in charge of the impudent<sup>71</sup> of Quraysh before the Prophet’s mission. He would restrain and discipline them with the consent of all Quraysh groups.<sup>72</sup> His powers allowed him to expel any impudent person in case of misconduct. A verse of a Meccan<sup>73</sup> bears evidence that Ḥakīm’s powers included the power to banish wrongdoers. The identity of this Meccan is not reported by Ibn Ḥazm; however, Ibn al-Kalbi<sup>74</sup> reports that it was a man from Quraysh

69 Cf. *Et*<sup>1</sup>, s.v. *Muhtasib* (R. Levy); Levy, *Social structure*, 334–8; Dürī 1959, pp. 138–9, 148–52.

70 Kister 1972, p. 83=Fākihi, fol. 449b; Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Nasab Quraysh*, fol. 129a; I. Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, p. 286.

71 *Sufahā’*. Azraqī 1, p. 454, has erroneously ‘*alā siqā’ihā*, and the error was not corrected in the more recent edition, II, p. 242. Lammens, *Mecque*, p. 196, was misled by this error. Cf. Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, I, pp. 201–8.

72 Fākihi is quoted in *Iṣāba*, II, p. 111: *wa-kāna Ḥakīm qabla l-ba’tha qā’iman ‘alā sufahā’i Quraysh yarda’uhum wa-yu’addibuhum bi-’tṭifāqin min Quraysh ‘alā dhālīka*. The definition of I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 263, is less informative: *kāna [...] muhtasiban, ya’muru bi-l-ma’rūf wa-yanhā ‘ani l-munkar*.

73 *Uṭawwifu bi-l-Maṭābikhī kulla yawmin makhāfata an yusharridani Ḥakīmu*, “I walk around the *Maṭābikh* every day, fearing that Ḥakīm will expel me”, I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 162a; Yāqūt, s.v. *al-Maṭābikh*; I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 263 ([...] *fi l-Abāṭīhi*); *Iṣāba*, II, p. 112 ([...] *an yu’addibani*, which is perhaps supported by the above quotation from Fākihi). *Lisān al-‘arab*, s.v. *sh.r.d.* ([...] *bi-l-Abāṭīhi [...] yusharrida bī*, which is glossed: *an yusammi’a bī*, “lest Ḥakīm would render me notorious by exposing my vices”).

74 See on his Shi’ite sympathies Kister-Plessner 1977, p. 67.

said to have been 'Uthmān b. 'Affān. There is, however, another, more trustworthy version, naming a less prominent Qurashī: al-Ḥārith b. Umayya *al-aṣghar* (i.e., the younger of the two Umayyas, who were both sons of 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf).<sup>75</sup>

More details are known on the affair of al-Ḥārith. Fākihī mentions a court given to al-Ḥārith by Abū Jahl b. Hishām (from Makhzūm). The circumstances were as follows: Hishām b. al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī and Ḥarb b. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams died within seven days of each other or, as some say, on the same day. Al-Ḥārith composed an elegy on Hishām but not on Ḥarb. The B. 'Abd Manāf became cross with him and expelled him from their midst. They also incited Ḥakīm b. Umayya against him.<sup>76</sup> It was then that al-Ḥārith said the aforementioned verse.<sup>77</sup> Zubayr b. Bakkār's account of the incident, which is basically the same, adds that al-Ḥārith fled from Ḥakīm and, more significantly, that Ḥakīm pulled his court down. Hence the court given to him by the B. Hishām from Makhzūm (i.e., Abū Jahl and his brothers).<sup>78</sup> Another source reports that arrests were among Ḥakīm's powers.<sup>79</sup>

75 Azraqī, II, p. 242 (*uqarriru bi-l-Abātihi [...] an yusharridani*). I. Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, pp. 285–6, mentions beside al-Ḥārith another version: it was said by 'Adi b. ar-Rabī' b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. 'Abd Shams, *wa-kāna min fityān Quraysh*.

76 Fol. 449b: *fa-ghaḍiba B. 'Abd Manāf 'alayhi wa-akhrajūhu min bayni aḥzurihim wa-aghraw bihi Ḥakīm b. Ḥāritha* (i.e., Ḥakīm b. Umayya b. Ḥāritha) as-Sulamī.

77 The text here is: *ufarriru bi-l-Abātihi* etc.

78 *Nasab Quraysh*, fol. 129a: [...] *Aghrā B. 'Abd Manāf Ḥakīm b. Umayya b. Ḥāritha b. al-Awqaṣ as-Sulamī ḥalif B. 'Abd Shams, wa-kānū 'sta'malūhu 'alā sufahā'ihim, fa-farra minhu al-Ḥārith, wa-qāla: ufarriru bi-l-Abātihi kulla yawmin makhāfata an yusharridani Ḥakimu. Fa-hadama Ḥakīm dārahu wa-a'tāhu B. Hishām dārahu 'llatī bi-Ajyād*. This *dār* was in "the greater Ajyād" and was called *dār* 'Abī, Azraqī, II, p. 258, l. 2. Elsewhere (II, p. 244), Azraqī assigns little credibility to the story of the court granted by Abū Jahl to al-Ḥārith (*za'ama ba'du l-makkiyyina* etc.) and adduces another version: And some said, "He bought it from him for a wine-skin". This version, which is reminiscent of the purchase of the Ka'ba from Abū Ghubshān for a wine-skin (see e.g. Tha'ālībī, *Thimār*, p. 135), is evidently more favourable to the B. 'Abd Manāf. It is hard to decide between

The appearance of a *muḥtasib* in pre-Islamic Mecca is remarkable. Ḥakīm operated with the consent of all Quraysh clans; indeed, his family was related to many of them.<sup>80</sup>

The military implications of the role played by the B. Dhakwān b. Tha‘laba are discussed in the last section of this chapter.

### *The Imru’u l-Qays branch*

Nothing comparable to the evidence adduced above exists for other Sulamī clans.

#### *The B. Khufāf b. Imri’i l-Qays*

For one of the clans of Khufāf, namely the B. ‘Uṣayya, there is a curious genealogical record. The eponym ‘Uṣayya b. Khufāf is claimed to have been the son of Ma‘īṣ b. ‘Āmir b. Lu‘ayy. Since ‘Āmir b. Lu‘ayy was the eponym of the Quraysh clan B. ‘Āmir b. Lu‘ayy,<sup>81</sup> this claim renders the B. ‘Uṣayya part of that Qurashī clan.<sup>82</sup>

the two place-names, Abāṭiḥ (by which the Baṭḥā’ of Mecca, i.e., its valley, seems to be meant) and the Maṭābikh in *a’lā Makka*, which later became known as Shi‘b Ibn ‘Āmir (after ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir b. Kurayz), Azraqi, II, p. 271 and Index, s.v. Shi‘b B. ‘Āmir; I, pp. 83, 84, 133. Perhaps the latter should be preferred as a less well-known name, and therefore a kind of *lectio difficilior*. On al-Maṭābikh see also Yāqūt and Bakrī, s.v.; Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ*, s.v., p. 543; Yāqūt, s.v. Makka, p. 185; Sijistānī, *Mu‘ammarūn*, p. 7. Cf. Yāqūt, s.v. Maṭbakh Kisrā.

79 Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1196a: *wa-kāna Ḥakīm muḥtasiban fi l-jāhiliyya, ya‘muru bi-l-ma‘rūf wa-yanhā ‘ani l-munkar*, (cf. above, the end of n. 72) *wa-yu‘addibu l-fussāq wa-yahbisuhum wa-yanfihim*.

80 Here we also have a reference to expulsion as a punishment in the pre-Islamic period; cf. ‘Athāmīna 1984.

81 Ibn Ḥazm, who adduces this record in the section on the ‘Āmir b. Lu‘ayy, is sceptical: he mentions the three sons of Ma‘īṣ, Nizār, ‘Amr and ‘Abd. Then he adds: “And it was said that ‘Uṣayya, who is from the B. Sulaym, is ‘Uṣayya b. Ma‘īṣ”, I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 170.

That at a certain point in time the Uṣayya were known as 'Uṣayya b. Ma'īṣ is shown by an independent piece of evidence relating to a pre-Islamic *yawm*. Following the killing of Rabi'a b. Mukaddam al-Firāsī by Nubaysha b. Ḥabīb from 'Uṣayya,<sup>83</sup> 'Abdallah b. Jidhl at-Ṭi'ān al-Firāsī<sup>84</sup> threatened to avenge his death until he would get at 'Uṣayya b. Ma'īs.<sup>85</sup> A declaration of the Qurashi genealogy by Ṣakhr b. 'Amr from 'Uṣayya, who was al-Khansā's brother, possibly indicates that another clan from Khufāf adopted that genealogy too.<sup>86</sup>

Cf. Kister 1965b, p. 135; Jāḥiẓ, *Buldān*, in *Rasā'il*, IV, p. 114=Jāḥiẓ, *Buldān* (Pellat), p. 175 (Jāḥiẓ refers specifically to noble tribes: *wa-qad ra'aynā fī qabā'ili l-'arabi l-ashrāfi rijālan [...]*).

- 82 The much more detailed information on the 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy provided by Muṣ'ab b. az-Zubayr (Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, pp. 412–40) includes no reference to a Qurashi genealogy of 'Uṣayya. However, it provides (on p. 437) a relevant piece of evidence: Munqidh b. 'Amr b. Ma'īṣ was married to a woman from 'Uṣayya, Maymūna bint Rawāḥa b. 'Uṣayya. Rawāḥa is mentioned among 'Uṣayya's sons in I. Kalbi, *Jamh.*, fol. 158a-b, with no further details. Note that Rawāḥa b. Munqidh had the right to a quarter of the booty, Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, p. 438 (I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 171, says that he was a *sayyid*), i.e., he was a military commander. In later times we find in this family other persons entitled to the *mirbā'*: 'Abd Manāf b. al-Ḥārith b. Munqidh and his son 'Abd used to take the *mirbā'*, Muṣ'ab, p. 438; I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 171. (Incidentally, Ibn al-'Ariqa who fatally wounded Sa'd b. Mu'ādh in the Khandaq, was a great-grandson of the aforementioned 'Abd.) Muṣ'ab quotes a verse concerning Rawāḥa and 'Abd; he thinks that the poet is Ṣakhr b. 'Amr (from the B. ash-Sharid – 'Uṣayya; see below): *Rawāḥatu minhum rābi'u n-nāsi bi-l-qanā wa-'Abdu 'lladhi tujbā ilayhi l-ma'āshiru*. (It seems that *ma'āshir* refers to the *mirbā'*.) For poetic praise of the military skills of 'Ubayd and Rawāḥa sons of Munqidh, see Muṣ'ab, p. 440.

- 83 See below, Ch. VII, n. 34.

- 84 He is mentioned in I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 188.

- 85 *Aghānī*, XIV, p. 132, l. 10: *la-aṭlubanna Rabi'ata 'bna Mukaddamin ḥattā anāla 'Uṣayyata 'bna Ma'īṣi*. The following gloss is added: "It is said that 'Uṣayya is from the B. Sulaym and that he is 'Uṣayya b. Ma'īṣ b. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy".

- 86 Ṣakhr refers to "clans from the two branches of Khufāf whose origin is from Ma'īṣ b.

*The B. Bahz b. Imri'i l-Qays*

Ḥajjāj b. 'Ilāt, who must have been a prominent person in pre-Islamic Mecca, appears in various reports. In order to conduct his business in Mecca, Ḥajjāj had to become a confederate of one of its groups. He chose the B. 'Abd ad-Dār<sup>87</sup> and married one of their women.<sup>88</sup> Ḥajjāj was from the people of Mecca<sup>89</sup> and his family was there.<sup>90</sup> He had owned an abode (*rab'*) of his own in Mecca, but when he made the *hijra* it was taken from him.<sup>91</sup>

'Āmir", I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 172 (*qabā'ilu min ḥayyay Khufāfin wa-aṣlunā idhā mā nusibnā min Ma'īsi 'bni 'Āmiri*).

87 Ṭabari, *Tafsir*, V, p. 173, l. 22.

88 Her identity is disputed: she was Umm Shayba bint 'Umayr b. Hāshim, the sister of the Prophet's companion Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr, Wāqidī, II, p. 702; *Uṣd al-ghāba*, I, pp. 381–2, calls her Umm Shayba bint Abī Ṭalḥa. Umm Shayba bint Abī Ṭalḥa bore him his son Mu'arriḍ, *Iṣṭi'āb*, IV, p. 1478. Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, p. 306, records the link with the *āl 'Ilāt* among those formed in the Islamic period (by which the period before the *hijra* could be meant), not by a proper alliance but by other means; in this case the link with the B. 'Abd ad-Dār was formed by the marriage of Ḥajjāj to Ṣafīyya bint Abī Ṭalḥa b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. 'Uthmān b. 'Abd ad-Dār, who bore him Mu'arriḍ and another son.

89 Baghawī, *Tafsir*, I, p. 497, l. 5 from bottom.

90 *Iṣṭi'āb*, I, p. 326, l. 7; *Uṣd al-ghāba*, I, p. 381, l. 5 from bottom.

91 For some reason Azraqī, II, pp. 253–4, includes it in the section on the lands owned by the B. 'Abd ad-Dār themselves, not the one on the lands of their confederates. Both Azraqī and Azraqīl have here: Abū l-Ḥajjāj b. 'Ilāt, which seems to be an error, because afterwards there is reference to Ḥajjāj's, not his father's, *hijra*. In addition, no reference to Ḥajjāj's father could be found elsewhere. His wife is said here to have been Fāṭima bint al-Ḥārith b. 'Alqama b. Kalada b. 'Abd ad-Dār. Her correct name is: Fāṭima [...] b. 'Abd Manāf b. 'Abd ad-Dār. Her father al-Ḥārith was the hostage of Quraysh (*rahīnat Quraysh*) with Abū Yaksūm al-Ḥabashī, I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 23a. It seems that while the genealogists remembered that Ḥajjāj's wife was from the 'Abd ad-Dār, her name was soon forgotten.

The B. Bahz had dealings with other Qurashī clans too.<sup>92</sup> One of them was related to the Prophet's first wife Khadija, who was from the Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā. The same person<sup>93</sup> was also connected with the Prophet himself: Khuzayma was Khadija's brother-in-law or son-in-law (*ṣihr*). He is reported to have come to her every year; on one of his visits she sent him to the Prophet. Another report says that he was in Khadija's caravan heading to Buṣrā with the Prophet.<sup>94</sup>

### *The Hārith branch*

All the evidence on the B. Rifā'a b. al-Hārith b. Buhtha is linked with the

- 92 It is curious to note that it was a man from the B. Bahz who, during the famine in Arabia, asked the Prophet to pray for Quraysh, Kister 1981, p. 245. It is not clear whether his name was Ka'b b. Murra or Murra b. Ka'b. The dictionaries of companions have both entries; see *Iṣāba*, V, pp. 612–3, no. 7439; VI, pp. 79–81, no. 7912; *Uṣd al-ghāba*, IV, pp. 248–9, 351 (with the pedigree: [...] Bahz b. al-Hārith b. Sulaym b. Maṣṣūr, cf. above, Ch. III, n. 62); *Iṣṭi'āb*, III, pp. 1326, no. 2206; 1382, no. 2359 (Bahz b. al-Hārith etc.); Dhahabī, *Tajrīd*, II, pp. 33, no. 358; 70, no. 778; Gil, *Palestine*, I, 103 (Ka'b b. Murra in Tiberias); Goldziher 1896, 493 (Murra b. Ka'b in Īlīyā'). Some sources say that two different people are involved, but this does not seem correct. See also Khalifa, *Ṭabaqāt*, pp. 52, 301–2, who mentions Ka'b b. Murra twice: among the companions of the Prophet who inhabited Medina and among those of them who inhabited Syria. *Iṣāba*, s.v. Ka'b b. Murra, reports that he settled in Baṣra, then he went to Urdunn. See also *Mustadrak*, I, p. 328, l. 15.
- 93 Whom the dictionaries of companions mention under two different names: Khuzayma b. Ḥakīm and Khuzayma b. Thābit, stating that the same person is meant, *Iṣāba*, II, pp. 280, no. 2255; 281–1, no. 2260; *Uṣd al-ghāba*, II, pp. 115, 116; Dhahabī, *Tajrīd*, I, p. 159, nos. 1645, 1650; Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, III, p. 173, l. 7 from bottom.
- 94 The two reports form an introduction to a long report about Khuzayma. He recognized Muḥammad as a prophet and promised that he would come to him when he would declare himself. He failed to fulfil his promise until the conquest of Mecca. Upon seeing him the Prophet said, "Welcome to the first *muhājir*". Khuzayma explained that successive years of drought had prevented him from being the first to come to the Prophet.



Prophet's companion 'Utba b. Farqad.<sup>95</sup> 'Utba b. Farqad was a confederate of the B. al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abd Manāf. It was an old link: 'Utba's mother was from the B. al-Muṭṭalib.<sup>96</sup>

The dictionaries of the Prophet's companions tell us that 'Utba fought with the Prophet in Khaybar.<sup>97</sup> This record has some wider implications. The agreement between the Prophet and Quraysh at Ḥudaybiyya paved the way for the conquest of Khaybar shortly afterwards. In the absence of explicit evidence concerning military aid of Mecca in that expedition,<sup>98</sup> we must resort to records pertaining to individuals. One such record relates to 'Utba b. Farqad.<sup>99</sup> 'Utba received from the Prophet an annual share in the yields of Khaybar. His name does not appear in the lists of

95 b. Yarbū' b. Ḥabīb b. Mālik b. As'ad b. Rifā'a b. Rabī'a b. Rifā'a. See the entries in *Iṣāba*, IV, pp. 439–40, no. 5416; *Usd al-ghāba*, III, pp. 365–6; *Istī'āb*, III, p. 1029, no. 1765; Dhahabī, *Tajrid*, I, p. 371, no. 3969; I. Sa'd, IV, p. 275. Note that while the closest relatives of the B. Rifā'a b. al-Ḥārith, the B. Zafar b. al-Ḥārith and the B. Mu'āwiya b. al-Ḥārith, were found in Medina (see above, Ch. V), no evidence could be found linking the B. Rifā'a to Medina.

96 According to *Istī'āb* and Khalifa, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 50, she was Āmina bint 'Umar b. 'Alqama b. al-Muṭṭalib, or bint 'Abbād b. 'Alqama b. 'Abbād b. al-Muṭṭalib, Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1194a; *Usd al-ghāba*.

97 'Utba also took part in another, unspecified expedition of the Prophet: he is said to have participated in two expeditions altogether.

98 Cf. Lecker 1984.

99 And cf. *Iṣāba*, s.v. as-Musayyab b. Abī s-Sā'ib al-Makhzūmī, VI, p. 122, no. 8003, quoting Zubayr b. Bakkār (Abū Ma'shar: *aslama wa-hājara ma'a n-nabi ṣ. mina l-Ḥudaybiyya*). Two further records relate to fellow Sulamīs, one of whom is known to have lived in Mecca: 1. on 'Utba b. 'Abd see above, Ch. IV, n. 46. 2. the dictionaries of companions mention 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muraqqa' as-Sulamī without further details on his pedigree, *Usd al-ghāba*, III, pp. 321–2; *Iṣāba*, IV, pp. 359–60, no. 5203. Incidentally, the *Usd al-ghāba* refers to an entry in the *Istī'āb* which I could not find. See also *Usd al-ghāba*, III, p. 255 ('Abdallah b. Muraqqa', and some said: 'Abd ar-Raḥmān). The dictionaries adduce on his authority an account on the conquest of Khaybar. He is said (*Iṣāba*, quoting al-Baghawī) to have lived in Mecca and to have participated in the conquest of Khaybar.

the recipients of such shares<sup>100</sup> possibly because his share was included in the shares granted to his mother's family, the B. al-Muṭṭalib. A unique record tells us how 'Utba would dispose of his share: one year he would give it to his paternal cousins (i.e., the Sulamīs) and in the following year, to his maternal cousins.<sup>101</sup>

'Utba's share in Khaybar and the land in Mecca granted to him by the Prophet<sup>102</sup> show that the Prophet recognized and perhaps even supported the existing link between the Qurashis (or at any rate the B. 'Abd Manāf) and their confederates.

In the records on the conquests 'Utba emerges as a prominent warrior and, perhaps more importantly, a very wealthy man. Of his participation in the battle of Qādisiyya we learn by implication from the report<sup>103</sup> on the three rivals who proposed to marry the same woman. 'Utba is compared to Simāk b. Kharasha from the *Anṣār*:<sup>104</sup> marrying any one of them meant riches. 'Utba's wealth had been accumulated in Arabia: he brought it with him to Kūfa.<sup>105</sup>

The statement (*Usd al-ghāba*) that he is considered to be one of the Medinese obviously relates to a later period.

100 See e.g. I. Hishām, III, pp. 363–8; Waqidī, II, pp. 689–99.

101 *Usd al-ghāba*, loc. cit. ("the B. so and so" are the B. al-Muṭṭalib). See also *Tahdhīb at-tahdhīb*, VII, p. 101, no. 216 (one year to his paternal cousins and another to his maternal uncles).

102 See below, n. 124.

103 Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, III, p. 581.

104 *Iṣāba*, III, pp. 174–5, no. 3467.

105 Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, IV, pp. 153–4: *wa-kāna Simāk b. Kharasha wa-'Utba b. Farqad min aghniyā'i l-'arabi, wa-qadimā l-Kūfata bi-l-ghinā*. (Incidentally, his son 'Amr was an ascetic, 'ābid, and died in the battlefield; see for much detail Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1134a–1135b.) The third rival, Bukayr b. 'Abdallah al-Laythī, stood for excellence in the battlefield. According to one version, 'Utba was later in charge of the war and taxes (*al-ḥarb wa-l-kharāj*) of Mosul, Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, IV, p. 39, l. 2 from bottom (year 16/637). 'Umar appointed him as the governor of Mosul in 20/641, Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1194a (with

*The B. 'Abs b. Rifā'a*

Members of the B. Shaybān family from 'Abs were the custodians of al-'Uzzā.<sup>106</sup> There was a close relationship between the B. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and the B. Shaybān. Before his death, a custodian of al-'Uzzā called Aflaḥ b. an-Naḍr ash-Shaybānī was reportedly sad because he feared that al-'Uzzā would not be worshipped after he died. The Prophet's uncle Abū Lahab (whose name was 'Abd al-'Uzzā) came to visit him and assured him that he would attend her.<sup>107</sup>

Wāqidi<sup>108</sup> says that in Ramaḍān 8 A.H. Khālīd b. al-Walīd destroyed al-'Uzzā in the valley of Nakhla, which was an idol of the Sulamī B. Shaybān, the confederates of the B. Hāshim. While Ibn Ishāq and Ibn Sa'd also say that they were the confederates of the B. Hāshim, Ibn Hishām says specifically that they were the confederates of Abū Ṭālib.<sup>109</sup>

Shaybān b. Dubayya b. Ḥirmis (or Ḥaramī) as-Sulamī<sup>110</sup> was the son of

further details about 'Utba's battles). A few years later 'Utba and his rival from Qādisiyya, Bukayr b. 'Abdallāh, were entrusted with the task of conquering Adhrabijān, from two different directions, Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, IV, p. 138, l. 15 (year 21/642). Also Simāk played a role in that conquest, Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, IV, pp. 153–4. 'Utba was the governor of Adhrabijān, p. 154; he then settled in Kūfa and died there, *Iṣāba*, IV, p. 440.

106 See on al-'Uzzā above, Ch. I, n. 191.

107 *Aqūmu 'alayhā*. Later Abū Lahab used to say to the people, "If al-'Uzzā is triumphant, she will reward me for this; however, if Muḥammad has the upper hand, which I do not believe will happen, well, he is my nephew" (*in taẓhari l-'Uzzā kuntu qadi 'itakhadhtu yadan 'indahā bi-qiyāmi 'alayhā* [...]; see Rubin 1979, pp. 13f. However, according to another report, I. Kalbī, *Aṣnām*, p. 23; Rubin 1979, 14, the conversation took place between Abū Lahab and Abū Uḥayḥa Sa'id b. al-'Āṣ b. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams.

108 In Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, III, p. 65. See also Azraqī, I, p. 126: *wa-kāna sadanatuḥā 'lladhina yaḥjubūnahā B. Shaybān min B. Sulaym ḥulafā' B. Hāshim*.

109 Ibn Hishām, I, p. 86; Zurqānī, II, pp. 347–8. Azraqī records an obscure claim of the B. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā to the ownership of that idol (*wa-B. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā yaqūlūna: ḥādḥā ṣanamunā*).

110 Landau-Tasseron, *Ridda*, pp. 212–3=I. Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, pp. 289–90; Kister

the last custodian of al-'Uzzā Dubayya b. Ḥaramī who was killed by Khālīd b. al-Walīd. Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (nicknamed al-Ghaydāq)<sup>111</sup> had a dispute with his brothers (one of whom was Abū Lahab) over the inheritance of their father 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. Shaybān b. Dubayya, who camped near Mecca in a place called al-Mafjar, was asked to help. He was married to (Muṣ'ab's nephew) Umm Ḥakīm bint az-Zubayr b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib who bore him Ma'bad, 'Ubayd and 'Abbād.<sup>112</sup>

The identity of 'Abbād b. Shaybān's Meccan allies is much disputed. However, all the versions, some of which are overlapping, are within the B. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf: 1. 'Abbād was a confederate of the B. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib;<sup>113</sup> 2. The B. Shaybān<sup>114</sup> were the custodians of al-'Uzzā and were the confederates of the B. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib;<sup>115</sup> 3.

(Colloquium) 1985, p. 25. I. Kalbi, *Jamh.*, fol. 161b, has Ḥaramī (thus vocalised) instead of Ḥirmis; Rubin 1979, 14, n. 10. Cf. Ḥaramī as a personal name (and a *nisba*) I. Athīr, *Lubāb*, s.v. Ḥaramī; I. Mākūlā, III, pp. 99–101; *Tāj al-'arūs*, s.v. *ḥ.r.m.*. In addition, the MS of the *Munammaq* has: Ḥaramī, not Ḥirmis. Landau-Tasseron plausibly suggests to read instead of Ḥirmis: Ḥaramī (perhaps, she says, after the *ḥaram* of l-'Uzzā); however, the *Tāj al-'arūs* says: *wa-l-mansūb ilā l-ḥaram mina n-nās ḥirmī bi-l-kasr, fa-idhā kāna fī ghayri n-nās qālū: thawb ḥaramī*; see also Kister 1965b, pp. 131, 139; *Tāj al-'arūs*, end of s.v. *ḥ.r.m.*

111 Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, p. 18, l. 11.

112 *Munammaq*, p. 289: *wa-huwa nāzil min Makka bi-mawḍi' yuqālu lahu l-Mafjar fīhi bi'r yuqālu lahā Kurr Ādam*. On al-Mafjar see Yāqūt, s.v.; Azraqī, I and II, Index. Incidentally, the well called Kurr Ādam provides a curious link with the B. Ju'ayl; see below, Ch. IX, n. 35.

113 *Iṣāba*, III, p. 616, no. 4470 (see also p. 621, no. 4490); I. Kalbi, *Jamh.*, fol. 161b; see also the entries on 'Abbād in *Usd al-ghāba*, III, p. 101; *Istī'āb*, II, p. 805, no. 1361; Dhahabī, *Tajrīd*, I, p. 292, no. 3082. His father's name is sometimes corrupted to Sinān and Sufyān.

114 b. Jābir b. Murra b. 'Abs b. Rifā'a b. al-Ḥārith b. Buhtha b. Sulaym.

115 Yāqūt, s.v. al-'Uzzā, p. 117 (instead of Buhtha, 'Utba was erroneously printed). In I. Kalbi, *Jamh.*, fol. 161a, Sālim is added between Jābir and Murra; I. Kalbi, *Jamh.*, fol. 161a-b ('Abbād was a confederate of the B. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib). Sulaym b.

Shaybān b. Jābir as-Sulamī came to ally al-Muqawwam b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib;<sup>116</sup> 4. The B. Shaybān were among the confederates of the B. Hāshim (more precisely) of az-Zubayr b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib.<sup>117</sup>

Marriage links seem to point to the B. al-Ḥārith b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib. In his list of the female descendants of Hāshim b. ‘Abd Manāf who were married to non-Qurashīs, Ibn al-Kalbī mentions Arwā bint Rabī’a b. al-Ḥārith b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who was married to ‘Abbād b. Shaybān as-Sulamī and bore him, in the Islamic period, two daughters and a son.<sup>118</sup> One report says that in the time of the Prophet ‘Abbād married Umayma (some sources have: Umāma) bint Rabī’a b. al-Ḥārith b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who was the daughter of the Prophet’s cousin Rabī’a. According to one

‘Abbād in I. Durayd, *Ishtiqaq*, p. 311, could be ‘Abbād b. Shaybān’s son: he was a confederate of Abū Ṭālib, “and his offspring claim today to be part of Abū Ṭālib’s family” (*wa-wulduhu l-yawma yadda’ūna fi āl Abi Ṭālib*). Cf. above, n. 109.

116 I. Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, pp. 93, 67.

117 Mu’arrij, *Ḥadhf*, p. 29. He uses the term *aḥlāf*, then the term *ḥulafā’*.

118 Incidentally, one of these daughters was married to Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and bore him Ibrāhīm, I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 116b; Kister (Colloquium) 1985, p. 25—I. Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, p. 289. Kister suggests that ‘Abbād may have married a daughter of his father’s wife; Umm al-Ḥakam may have been identical to Umm Ḥakim mentioned in the *Munammaq* (one of the names being erroneous). Elsewhere ‘Abbād b. Shaybān is said to have been married to a daughter of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib called Arwā, who bore him Shaybān, *Iṣāba*, s.v. Shaybān b. ‘Abbād b. Shaybān, III, p. 367, no. 3943; Khalifa, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 50 (both with incomplete pedigrees). This seems unlikely: ‘Abbād’s father Shaybān was married to a granddaughter of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib; how could ‘Abbād be married to a daughter of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib? The former record, which mentions a great-granddaughter of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, is far more acceptable: the father was married to a granddaughter of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib and the son was married to a great-granddaughter. In addition, the list of Arwā bint ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib’s husbands in Muṣ’ab, *Nasab*, pp. 19–20, does not include ‘Abbād. It seems that the words “Rabī’a b. al-Ḥārith” were omitted from the woman’s pedigree. Another report calls the woman Umāma (or Umayma; it may have been Arwā’s nickname).

version, it was 'Abbād who asked to marry her; according to another, the Prophet suggested the marriage.<sup>119</sup>

### *Economic aspects*

Some of Mecca's Sulamī confederates had courts of their own. Surprisingly enough, the *muḥtasib* Ḥakīm b. Umayya did not own a court: 'Utba b. Rabī'a from the B. 'Abd Shams married, as we have said, Ḥakīm b. Umayya's sister; Ḥakīm b. Umayya "was in" the court of 'Utba b. Rabī'a, which was located between the court of Abū Sufyān and the court of 'Amr b. 'Alqama al-Āmirī.<sup>120</sup> However, his family owned two courts (in the Islamic period?): the family (*āl*) of Ḥakīm b. al-Awqaṣ (i.e., Ḥakīm b. Umayya b. Hāritha b. al-Awqaṣ), the confederates of the B. Hāshim (*sic*), owned the *dār* (which later became known as *dār* Ḥamza (i.e., Ḥamza b. 'Abdallah b. az-Zubayr) in as-Suwayqa (in Mecca), as well as the *dār* Dirham in as-Suwayqa.<sup>121</sup> In his time Mu'āwiya bought the *dār* Ḥamza from the family of Abū l-A'war as-Sulamī. During the civil war, Ibn az-Zubayr confiscated it and gave it to his son Ḥamza.<sup>122</sup>

As we have said, Ḥajjāj b. 'Ilāṭ owned an abode (*rab'*) in Mecca, which was taken from him when he made the *hijra*.<sup>123</sup>

119 On Umāma/Umayma see *Iṣāba*, VII, pp. 501, 510; Dhahabī, *Tajrid*, II, p. 247, no. 2999 (Umayma bint Rabī'a b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, or bint 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib[!]). The sources that report this marriage are concerned with a legal problem: the absence of witnesses when the Prophet declared that he was giving him Umayma in marriage. Balādh., *Ansāb*, III, pp. 295–6 and I. Sa'd, IV, p. 47, do not list her among the children of Rabī'a b. al-Ḥārith. The time of this marriage could not be determined.

120 Azraqīl, p. 454, l. 10. On 'Amr, see Azraqīl, p. 456, l. 13 (Abū Sufyān sold him a court which had belonged to Abū Aḥmad 'Abdallah b. Jaḥsh al-Asadī); Wāqidi, II, p. 840.

121 Azraqīl, p. 447, l. 4.

122 Azraqīl, p. 452, l. 3. On the *rab'* of Abū l-A'war, see Azraqīl, p. 460.

123 Cf. above, Ch. III, n. 73. Similarly, when the B. Jaḥsh (from the tribe of B. Asad), who were the confederates of Abū Sufyān, made the *hijra*, Abū Sufyān sold their houses and appropriated the money for himself, Kister (Colloquium) 1985, p. 23=I. Ḥabīb,

‘Utba b. Farqad’s court was located near the Marwa, not far from the Ka’ba. The land to build this court was granted to him by the Prophet. The deed was written by Mu’āwiya b. Abī Sufyān.<sup>124</sup> Indeed, Azraqī does not remark, as he does concerning other courts, that it was ‘Utba’s court before Islam. As one would expect, he includes it in the section dealing with the abodes of the confederates of the B. al-Muṭṭalib, that follows the section on the courts of the B. al-Muṭṭalib themselves. However, ‘Utba’s neighbours were not from the B. al-Muṭṭalib or from their confederates: his court was located between the courts belonging to two confederates of the B. ‘Abd Shams. Presumably, this and the central location of this land were behind Abū Sufyān’s claim to ‘Utba’s court.<sup>125</sup>

As for the Sulamī trade with Mecca, very few records could be found. The companion of the Prophet, Qays b. Nushba from the B. ‘Abs, sold (in the pre-Islamic period) camels in Mecca and was deceived by a buyer called Ubayy b. Khalaf al-Jumaḥī. To no avail he sought the protection of another Jumaḥī. When it became known to Qays’ cousin ‘Abbās b. Mirdās,<sup>126</sup> he sent verses with the pilgrims calling upon Qays to place himself under the protection of Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and ‘Abbās b. ‘Abd

*Munammaq*, pp. 286–8; Fākihi, fol. 452a-b; cf. above, n. 91. The fate of these courts could indicate some precariousness in the position of the confederates.

124 I. Sa’d, I, p. 285; Wellhausen, *Skizzen* IV, no. 64; Ḥamidullah, *Wathā’iq*, no. 215, p. 311. Text: *hādha mā a’tā n-nabiyyu ṣ. ‘Utba b. Farqad, a’tāhu mawḍi’a dārin bi-Makka yabnihā mimma yalī l-Marwa, fa-lā yuhāqquhu fihā aḥadun, wa-man ḥāqqahu fa-innahu lā ḥaqqa lahu wa-ḥaqquhu ḥaqq. Wa-kataba Mu’āwiya.*

125 Azraqī, II, p. 235; Azraqī I, p. 447 (the recent edition has erroneously: ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib); Fākihi, fol. 448b. In the section on the *ribā’* of the confederates of the B. ‘Abd Shams the court of the family of Dā’ūd b. al-Ḥaḍramī/‘Abdallah b. ‘Ammār is said to have been near the Marwa. It was located between the court of the confederate of al-Mughira b. Abi al-‘Āṣ b. Umayya, al-Azraq b. ‘Amr b. al-Ḥārith b. Abi Shamir al-Ghassānī (later it was incorporated into the Ka’ba), and the court of ‘Utba b. Farqad. The evidence referred to above includes some obscure passages which need elucidation.

126 See above, n. 51.

al-Muṭṭalib. The latter helped Qays to recover his money and said that he would be Qays' protector whenever he came to Mecca *and guarantee the recovery of his losses*. There was friendship, the report says, between Qays and the B. Hāshim until the beginning of the Prophet's mission.<sup>127</sup> Indeed, in a trading environment protection from losses was of no less importance than physical protection.

'Abbās b. Anas from the B. Ri'l is said to have been a partner (presumably in trade) of the Prophet's father 'Abdallah.<sup>128</sup> A similar link, with a Sulamī who lived outside Mecca, is indicated by the records concerning Khuzayma b. Ḥakīm (or Khuzayma b. Thābit) al-Bahzī.<sup>129</sup>

Ḥajjāj b. 'Illāt is better known to us. He was a rich man. He owned the gold mines in the land of the B. Sulaym.<sup>130</sup> He was the first to send the

127 Landau-Tasseron, *Ridda*, p. 223= I. Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, pp. 164–5 ('Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib said: *anā laka jār kullamā dakhalta Makka, fa-mā dhahaba laka fa-huwa 'alayya*); see the entries on Qays in the *Iṣāba*, V, pp. 503–5, no. 7247 (he came to the Prophet and embraced Islam after the Khandaq); *Uṣd al-ghāba*, loc. cit.; Dhahabī, *Tajrīd*, II, p. 25, no. 274; 'Abbās b. Mirdās, *Dīwān*, pp. 75–6; *Aghānī*, XVI, p. 65 (according to one version, this affair was behind the formation of the *ḥilf al-fuḍūl*, cf. *EP*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl* (Ch. Pellat).

128 Landau-Tasseron, *Ridda*, p. 211=*Uṣd al-ghāba*, s.v. 'Abbās b. Anas b. 'Āmir as-Sulamī, III, p. 108 (*kāna l-'Abbās b. Anas sharikan li-'Abdillāh b. 'Abdī l-Muṭṭalib wālid rasūli 'llāhi ṣ.*) and *Iṣāba*, III, p. 630, no. 4508, quoting the same report. On the marriage links between this family and the B. Nawfal b. 'Abd Manāf see Kister 1965a, pp. 352–3: 'Adī b. Nawfal b. 'Abd Manāf was married to Fākhita bint 'Abbās b. 'Āmir b. Ḥuyayy b. Ri'l, who bore him Muṭ'im and Ṭu'ayma, Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, p. 198. Fākhita and 'Adī had a daughter named Zaynab, Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, p. 425 (an abridged pedigree: Fākhita bint 'Abbās b. Ḥuyayy b. Ri'l etc.). Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Nasab Quraysh*, fol. 191a (referred to by Kister, loc. cit.) has: Fākhita bint Anas b. 'Abbās b. 'Āmir b. Ḥuyayy b. Ri'l; the addition of Anas seems to be an error.

129 See above, n. 93.

130 I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 262; Wāqidī, II, p. 702: *wa-kāna l-Ḥajjāj mukthiran, lahu māl kathīr, ma'ādinu dh-dhahabi 'llatī bi-arḍ B. Sulaym*; *Istī'āb*, I, p. 326: *wa-kāna mukthiran mina l-māl, kānat lahu ma'ādin B. Sulaym*. Cf. on Ḥajjāj Crone, *Meccan trade*, 94.



Prophet a *ṣadaqa* from *ma'din* B. Sulaym.<sup>131</sup> Ḥajjāj was believed to have gold in his Meccan home: Ṭu'ma b. Ubayriq<sup>132</sup> tried to steal gold from him but found only sheep skins dried in the sun which had not yet been tanned.<sup>133</sup>

### *Al-Qurayya*

In a place called al-Qurayya located in the land of the Ḥārith branch, Qurashīs and Sulamīs attempted to start an agricultural project.<sup>134</sup> The factual nucleus of the following story is accompanied by some legendary elements. In addition, there are some differences concerning the details. According to one version Mirdās b. Abī 'Āmir (the father of 'Abbās b. Mirdās) from the B. 'Abs took to himself al-Qurayya, which is in the *ḥarrat* B. Sulaym, and made a mark upon it (*ikhtaṭṭa*). Another version says that

131 *Iṣāba*, II, p. 34 (Mūsā b. 'Uqba < Zuhri): *annahu awwalu man ba'atha ilā rasūli 'llāhi ṣ. bi-ṣadaqa min ma'din B. Sulaym.*

132 See above, Ch. III, n. 66.

133 Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, I, fol. 84b. And see how Ḥajjāj made the people of Mecca believe that the Prophet had been defeated in Khaybar. He did so to safeguard the return of money he was owed by different Qurashī merchants. He urged the Meccans to help him collect his money because, as he explained, he wanted to rush back to Khaybar and buy some of the plunder allegedly taken from the Prophet and his companions before the other merchants would outstrip him (*fa-anā urīdu an aqdama fa-uṣība min Muḥammad wa-aṣḥābihi qabla an tasbiqāni t-tujjāru ilā mā hunāka*), Wāqidi, II, p. 703, l. 14; Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, III, p. 17, l. 6 from bottom (*inna li mālan bi-Makka 'inda ṣāhibatī [...] wa-māl mutafarriq fi tujjār ahl Makka*); *Usd al-ghāba*, I, p. 381, l. 1 from bottom (Ḥajjāj said: *inna li bi-Makka mālan 'alā t-tujjāri wa-mālan 'inda ṣāhibatī*). See also Lecker 1984, 5. Ḥajjāj was obviously a cunning and resourceful man.

134 See already Wellhausen, *Reste*, 108–9; Lammens, *Mecque*, p. 197; Kister 1972, p. 78=Balādh., *Ansāb*, IVa, p. 3; Landau-Tasseron, *Ridda*, p. 211=(among other sources) I. Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, pp. 159–62; 'Abbās b. Mirdās, *Dīwān*, pp. 108–9; *Iṣāba*, s.v. Kulayb b. 'Ahma, V, p. 623, no. 7459. Cf. Khalidi, *Land tenure*, pp. 181–6 (on lands in the Balqā' region owned by Qurashīs).

Mirdās, together with Ḥarb b. Umayya (Abū Sufyān's father), bought al-Qurayya, a water-place of Hudhayl near ar-Rajī', from a Hudhālī named Khuwaylid b. Muṭḥal.<sup>135</sup> In a third version Mirdās and another Sulamī named Kulayb b. 'Ahma from the B. Zafar b. al-Ḥārith, developed the land but, having no money left, they gave Ḥarb a third of it in return for financing. A verse of Mirdās mentions Ḥarb and his brothers as his supporters. After the mysterious death of Ḥarb and Mirdās (see below), people were afraid to cultivate it and the project was abandoned. In the time of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, Kulayb b. 'Ahma seized the land unjustly; he was reproached for this by 'Abbās b. Mirdās.<sup>136</sup>

As we have said, al-Qurayya was located near ar-Rajī' in *wādī* Ghurān, east of 'Uṣfān (see map).<sup>137</sup> In ar-Rajī' the treacherous attack on the companions of the Prophet was carried out by the B. Hudhayl.<sup>138</sup> It was

135 Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1193a, locates it wrongly in the *ḥarrat* B. Sulaym near Medina. Khuwaylid b. Muṭḥal was in fact Khuwaylid b. Wāthila b. Muṭḥal (some sources have: Miṭḥal) from the Hudhālī clan B. Sahm b. Mu'āwiya b. Tamim b. Sa'd b. Hudhayl, cf. I. Qutayba, *Shi'r*, p. 648. Balādhuri (in I. Kalbi/Farrāj, I, p. 506) says that (his son) Abū Khuwaylid Ma'qil b. Khuwaylid was the confederate (*ḥaliḥ*) of Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb. On Ma'qil see Marzubānī, *Mu'jam*, p. 371 (*kāna sayyida qawmihi*). The *Iṣāba*, s.v. Ma'qil b. Khuwaylid b. Wā'ila(!), VI, p. 181, no. 8141, quotes ar-Rushāṭī: his father was 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's companion in his journey to Abraha. The *Iṣāba* and *Uṣd al-ghāba*, IV, p. 397, refer vaguely to a dispute between Ma'qil (*wa-kāna Ma'qil wajihan fihim*) and Abū Sufyān in the battle of Ḥunayn over the spoils of a man from Quraysh. Cf. I. Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, p. 330, who reports that Mirdās allied Ḥarb b. Umayya and Abū l-'Āṣ b. Umayya (but the verse which follows refers to Mirdās' father).

136 One of 'Abbās' verses refers to Kulayb as a *sayyid*, Balādh., *Ansāb*, IVa, pp. 3–4; I. 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, the volume beginning with 'Ubāda b. Awfā, pp. 254–6; Jaḥīz, *Ḥayawān*, II, pp. 142–3; *Naqā'id*, II, p. 907, l. 1.

137 Above, Ch. I, n. 121. Its location in Yamāma ('Abbās b. Mirdās, *Dīwān*, p. 109, n. 6) is wrong. Its location between Mecca and Ṭā'if (*Munammaq*, p. 159, n. 10) is also wrong.

138 *Iṣāba*, V, p. 623, no. 7459. Kulayb b. 'Uqba in I. 'Asākir, *loc. cit.*, is an error; see also 'Abbās b. Mirdās, *Dīwān*, pp. 108–9 (the statement that Kulayb denied Mirdās' sons their share after the death of his partner Mirdās seems to be less accurate). According to Balādh.,

in the land of the Ḥārith branch. Indeed, both Mirdās (from the B. 'Abs) and Kulayb b. 'Ahma (from the B. Zafar) were from this branch.<sup>139</sup>

### *Military aspects*

Some military aspects of Mecca's links with its allies are brought to light by the evidence on Sulaym. Sufyān b. 'Abd Shams from the B. Dhakwān b. Tha'laba was the confederate of Mu'āwiya's grandfather Ḥarb b. Umayya. Sufyān's son Abū l-A'war was the confederate of Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and a few decades later, he fought with Mu'āwiya in Šiffīn.<sup>140</sup> The military activity of Sufyān and his son is of special interest.<sup>141</sup> In the battle of Uḥud, Sufyān killed 'Abbās b. 'Ubāda al-Khazrajī; Sufyān himself was severely wounded by 'Abbās.<sup>142</sup> In the same battle he also killed 'Abdallah b. 'Amr b. Ḥarām, the father of Jābir b. 'Abdallah.<sup>143</sup>

Sulaym played a significant role in the army recruited by Quraysh and the Jews to fight against the Prophet in the Khandaq. The Jews called

*Ansāb*, fol. 1193b, it was mentioned that Kulayb had done 'Abbās justice after people mediated between them.

139 It is not clear why Ḥarb and his brothers returned from the war of 'Ukāz through al-Qurayya. Ḥarb and Mirdās agreed to be partners in the developing of that place; it was a thicket. While preparing the land for cultivation they killed the *jinn* that inhabited it and their wrath caused the death of both partners. Mirdās was buried in al-Qurayya, *Aghānī*, VI, pp. 92–3; Bakrī, s.v. al-Qurayya, III, pp. 1071–2.

140 Landau-Tasseron, *Ridda*, p. 213=I. Sa'd, II, p. 66. Cf. Lammens, *Mo'āwiya*, pp. 42–50.

141 See Landau-Tasseron, *Ridda*, p. 221.

142 Balādh., *Ansāb*, I, p. 331; Wāqidi, I, pp. 258, 303.

143 This is reported by Jābir himself, who adds that his father was the first warrior from the Muslims to be killed then, Wāqidi, I, pp. 266, 306. Forty-six years later the unchanged bodies of 'Abdallah and others killed at Uḥud had to be transferred to another burial ground to make way for an irrigation project of the caliph Mu'āwiya in the site of the battle of Uḥud, Wāqidi, I, p. 267–8. For a detailed discussion of Mu'āwiya's projects see Kister 1977, esp. pp. 38f.

upon Sulaym to join; they also called upon Ghatafān. Like the Ghatafān, their participation was conditional: they said that they would join only if Quraysh would take to field too. Seven hundred Sulamīs were under the command of Sufyān, the confederate of Ḥarb b. Umayya.<sup>144</sup> A few years later this army reappeared. Kister concludes his survey of the military role of Sufyān and his son Abū l-A'war saying:<sup>145</sup>

It is noteworthy that the Sulamī troop that joined the Prophet in the conquest of Mecca numbered 700 (or 1000) warriors. It was probably this very group of warriors that went over to the former enemy.

His observation is correct;<sup>146</sup> however, *part of the B. Dhakwān did not fight against Mecca*. Among the Sulamī clans which cooperated against the Muslims at Bi'r Ma'ūna we also find the Dhakwān b. Tha'laba, the clan of Sufyān b. 'Abd Shams. Following a concise but important account on the battle of Bi'r Ma'ūna, one source<sup>147</sup> says that after the battle the

144 Wāqidi, II, pp. 442–3.

145 Kister (Colloquium) 1985, p. 19.

146 Note that the seven hundred Sulamīs in the Khandaq joined the Qurashīs at Marr az-Zahrān, Wāqidi, II, p. 443; *Sira shāmiyya*, IV, p. 513. The report of Mūsā b. 'Uqba (in Zurqānī, VII, p. 301, l. 4 from bottom) makes it clear that the Qurashīs under Abū Sufyān camped at Marr az-Zahrān and were joined there by those of Sulaym who complied with their call and came as reinforcements (*fa-jā'ahum man ajābahum min B. Sulaym madadan lahum*). At al-Hadda near Marr az-Zahrān, the army of the Prophet was joined by a small Sulamī troop including people from the Ḥārith branch of Sulaym; see above, Ch. I, n. 98. The market of Majanna, one of the main markets of Arabia, was located in Marr az-Zahrān, Yāqūt and Bakrī, s.v. Majanna; *Fath al-bārī*, III, p. 473, l. 17; Azraqī, I, pp. 187f; Lughda, pp. 17, 32.

147 Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, p. 199; Kister 1965a, p. 352; Lecker 1985, pp. 55–6. See also Kister 1981, pp. 256–8. Note that in one of his review articles on 'Abd al-Qaddūs al-Anṣārī's book ("B. Sulaym", no. 7, p. 385) Jāsir refers to the report of Muṣ'ab for the background of the battle of Bi'r Ma'ūna; cf. Kister 1965a.

Prophet cursed Ri'l, *Fālij*, Dhakwān and 'Uṣayya. The mention of Fālij side by side with Dhakwān is problematic. The Dhakwān are presumably the Dhākḥwān b. Tha'laba; Fālij is Dhakwān's son and there seems to be a double mention of the same clan.<sup>148</sup> At any rate, it is clear that the Dhakwān took part in the attack, just as they were involved in the battles of Uḥud and the Khandaq. The B. Dhakwān mentioned by 'Abbās b. Mirdās in connection with the conquest of Mecca<sup>149</sup> are the Dhakwān b. Tha'laba. There are indications, though, that not all Dhakwān were part of the Prophet's army: at Ḥunayn, shortly after the conquest of Mecca, Abū l-A'war fought with Mālik b. 'Awf an-Naṣrī on the pagans' side; only later did he embrace Islam.<sup>150</sup> It seems unlikely that Abū l-A'war participated in the conquest of Mecca.<sup>151</sup>

148 Here belongs the false account of a meeting between Mu'āwiya and al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. Al-Ḥasan recalls that the Prophet cursed the B. Ri'l and Dhakwān as well as 'Amr b. Sufyān. 'Amr was cursed twice, the report goes on, once in himself and once as part of his clan (i.e., the B. Dhakwān – L.), Bukhārī, *Ta'rikh ṣaghīr*, I, p. 98.

149 Below, Ch. VII, n. 21.

150 *Iṣāba*, IV, p. 641. Cf. also the death (in battle) of Ṣakhr b. Ḥakīm b. Umayya; he died as a pagan; see *Iṣāba*, VIII, p. 220, no. 12055. The fighting of a significant Sulamī force on the pagans' side at Ḥunayn is perhaps implied by the call of Sulaym between themselves, when the Hawāzin were routed, to stop killing "the sons of their mother", i.e., their fellow-tribesmen; see Wāqidi, III, pp. 912–3: *lammā hazama 'llāhu ta'ālā Hawāzin 'ṭaba'ahumu l-muslimūna yaqtulūnahum, fa-nādat B. Sulaym baynahā: 'rfa'ū 'an banī ummikumi l-qatla. Fa-rafa'ū r-rimāha wa-kaffū 'ani l-qatli*. The Prophet reportedly cursed them, embittered by the fact that the Sulamis had killed excessively among his own tribe, Quraysh (i.e., during the conquest of Mecca) while they spared their own folk.

151 A report quoted in the *Iṣāba*, III, p. 259, no. 3691, from Wathima, *Kitāb ar-ridda*, speaks favourably of one Sufyān b. 'Amr as-Sulamī, meaning, it seems, 'Amr b. Sufyān: in the time of the *ridda* he was one of those who remained loyal to Islam. He also rebuked his clan in an eloquent speech. They cursed him and he composed poetry about this. When he realized that they would not obey him, he left them and stayed in Medina. This report seems to be an attempt to balance the negative role played by this person in the time of the Prophet. In the same vein, it is said that Ḥakīm b. Umayya, the confederate of the

Abū l-A'war enjoyed a status unmatched by other tribal allies of Mecca: he was the only non-Qurashī member in a delegation from Quraysh which conducted negotiations with the Prophet after Uḥud. The other members were Abū Sufyān and 'Ikrima b. Abī Jahl.<sup>152</sup> The sources for this affair mention Abū l-A'war 'Amr b. Sufyān<sup>153</sup> while the reports on the Sulamī unit in the battles of Uḥud and the Khandaq mention his father, Sufyān b. 'Abd Shams.<sup>154</sup>

Abū l-A'war had a remarkable career in the early Islamic period. In the

B. Umayya (cf. above, n. 69), embraced Islam at an early stage, when the Prophet was still in Mecca, and reproached the B. Umayya for their enmity towards the Prophet, I. Hishām, I, p. 308; *Iṣāba*, II, pp. 111–2, no. 1800; *Uṣd al-ghāba*, II, p. 39. A third person from the B. Dhakwān b. Tha'laba is presented favourably in Wathima's book in connection with his role in the *ridda*: al-Ḥubāb b. 'Umayr adh-Dhakwānī. Wathima records his testament to the B. Ḥanifa, advising them to cling to Islam. He also records a speech and lengthy sayings on this matter, *Iṣāba*, II, p. 163, no. 1945. Indeed, 'Umayr b. al-Ḥubāb (see on him above, n. 25) had a son called al-Ḥubāb, but he flourished in the time of Marwān b. Muḥammad and could hardly have been active in the *ridda*. Wathima is erroneous: the reference is to 'Umayr b. al-Ḥubāb. Incidentally, al-Ḥubāb b. 'Umayr b. al-Ḥubāb (*wa-kāna min fursān Qays*) fought with Marwān b. Muḥammad al-Ja'dī against the Khawārij, Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1196a. On the cavalrymen Shāqiq and al-Abīlaq, both from Sulaym (no further details are reported) who fought with Marwān b. Muḥammad, see Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1197b–1198a. On the *nisba* al-Ja'dī, see e.g. I. Athir, *Lubāb*, s.v., I, pp. 282–3; I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 13a. Cf. M. Sharon, *Black Banners From The East*, Jerusalem 1983, p. 14.

152 Kister suggests that this took place after the Khandaq (5 A.H.), namely in 6 A.H., Kister 1981, pp. 258–61.

153 Muqātil (*Tafsīr*, II, fol. 85b) calls him *ra's al-aḥzāb*.

154 They could both be correct; the entries on Abū l-A'war in the dictionaries of companions, although they include conflicting statements concerning his eligibility for the status of companion, unanimously state that he was born before Islam, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, IV, p. 109; *Iṣṭi'āb*, III, pp. 1178–9, no. 1920; *Iṣāba*, IV, p. 641–2, no. 5855.

battle of Yarmūk he was in command of a squadron of cavalry.<sup>155</sup> He carried one of the best-known letters in Islamic diplomacy from ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān to the governor of Egypt.<sup>156</sup> At some stage he was left in charge of the province of Urdunn.<sup>157</sup> Twenty years later, when ‘Uthmān died, Abū l-A‘war was again the governor of Urdunn under Mu‘āwiya.<sup>158</sup> Before he died he was in command of the Syrian army in the expedition of ‘Ammūriya in 23/644 and raided Cyprus in 26/647.<sup>159</sup> At some stage he was the commander of Mu‘āwiya’s cavalry.<sup>160</sup> In Ṣiffīn he was at the centre of the fighting.<sup>161</sup>

155 Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, III, pp. 396 (he is called here: Abū l-A‘war b. Sufyān, i.e., ‘Amr b. Sufyān), 438–444.

156 Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, IV, p. 367. Cf. I. ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ miṣr*, p. 309.

157 Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, III, p. 605.

158 Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, IV, p. 421. See further on his role Gil, *Palestine*, I, 63, 96, 97.

159 *Iṣāba*, IV, pp. 641–2; I. ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ miṣr*, p. 108, l. 15. On a great-grandson of Abū l-A‘war who was the governor of Ifrīqiyyā, see I. Khaldūn, *Ibar*, II, p. 307, l. 2 from bottom.

160 Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1196a.

161 *Uṣd al-ghāba*, IV, p. 109: *wa-‘alayhi kāna madāru l-ḥarbi bi-Ṣiffīn*. See also Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Ṣiffīn*, Index, s.v. Sufyān b. ‘Amr(!); but see the *rajaz* on p. 181: *anā Abū l-A‘war wa-‘smī ‘Amr*; Sufyān b. ‘Amr al-A‘war as-Sulamī (e.g. on p. 206) could be his son, but it could also be an error. See also Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, IV, pp. 566–74; V, p. 12. Cf. Ya‘qūb b. Sufyān, *Ma’rifā*, III, p. 135; Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, V, p. 71.

## VII

# The military activity of Sulaym

The evidence on the pre-Islamic *ayyām* of Sulaym yields valuable information on the level of military activity of the different clans and on the degree of unity and cooperation among them.

The owners of excellent horses were also, as one would expect, famous warriors. The B. Sulaym claimed that in the *yawm* Jabala the horses were reviewed by the commander of the 'Abs b. Rifā'a, Mirdās b. Abī 'Āmir, who was the best expert in horses.<sup>1</sup> As owners of famous horses we find the same Mirdās,<sup>2</sup> his son 'Abbās b. Mirdās<sup>3</sup> and his other son Mu'āwiya b. Mirdās.<sup>4</sup> Mujāshi' b. Mas'ūd from the B. Sammāl also owned an excellent horse.<sup>5</sup> Mujāshi''s clan was part of the Imru'u l-Qays branch while Mirdās was from the Ḥārith branch. Also mentioned are Mu'āwiya b. 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith b. ash-Sharīd,<sup>6</sup> Khufāf b. Nudba<sup>7</sup> and Nubaysha b.

1 *Naqā'id*, II, pp. 670-1 (*wa-kāna abšara n-nāsi bi-l-khayl*), 659.

2 I. Kalbi, *Khayl*, p. 74; the horse mentioned here may have been inherited by his son 'Abbās.

3 See on his horses *Dīwān*, p. 133; I. Kalbi, *Khayl*, pp. 27-8, 70-2; *Aghānī*, XIII, pp. 69-70.

4 I. Kalbi, *Khayl*, p. 74. 'Awf b. al-Kāhin as-Sulamī also owned a famous horse, I. Kalbi, *Khayl*, p. 74. Cf. perhaps Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1188a, on the eponym of the 'Awf, 'Awf b. Buhtha (usually he is considered the son of Imri'i l-Qays b. Buhtha): *wa-kāna kāhinan*.

5 I. Kalbi, *Khayl*, p. 116.

6 Ḥuṣārī, *Zahr*, II, p. 930.

7 *Lisān al-'arab*, s.v. 'l.y., p. 95.



Ḥabīb<sup>8</sup> from ‘Uṣayya, an Imru’u l-Qays clan. From the Tha‘laba branch Abū l-A‘war as-Sulamī is mentioned.<sup>9</sup>

Two families are of special interest to us: the B. Jāriya, to whom Mirdās belonged and the Sharīd, to whom Mu‘āwiya and Khufāf belonged. Both families will be mentioned often in what follows.

## *Military cooperation*

Solidarity between different Sulamī clans is reflected in the fact that it was ‘Abbās b. Mirdās who avenged the killing of ‘Abbās al-Aṣamm ar-Ri‘lī by Khath‘am.<sup>10</sup> A man from Sulaym incited ‘Abbās b. Anas ar-Ri‘lī to avenge the killing of Mālik b. Khālid *dhū t-Tāj* from Sharīd.<sup>11</sup>

On the other hand, there is evidence of fighting within Sulaym: the report on the strife between ‘Abbās b. Mirdās and Khufāf b. Nudba refers explicitly to heavy though short-lived fighting.<sup>12</sup>

## *Cooperation of “all Sulaym”*

The military potential of Sulaym and their ability to cooperate were

8 See below, the end of n. 35.

9 *Iqd*, I, pp. 174–5.

10 Bakri, I, p. 293; ‘Abbās b. Mirdās, *Dīwān*, p. 126.

11 Ḥassān, *Dīwān*, II, p. 300. The verses are said to have been aimed at ‘Abbās b. Mirdās, but one of them mentions Ibn Rayṭa and another mentions Abū Anas, both indicating that the reference is to ‘Abbās b. Anas, Marzubānī, *Mu‘jam*, p. 263; Kister 1965a, p. 353.

12 I. Qutayba, *Shi‘r*, II, p. 746: *thumma tamādā l-amr baynahumā ilā ani ‘htarabā wa-kathurati l-qatlā baynahumā*; Aghānī, XVI, p. 141, l. 13: *qāla l-‘Abbās: qad ādhantu Khufāfan bi-ḥarbin. Thumma aṣbahā* (printed: *aṣbahnā*) *fa-ltaqayā bi-qawmihimā fa-qtatalū qitālan shadīdan yawman ilā l-layl. Wa-kāna l-fadl li-l-‘Abbās ‘alā Khufāf*. See also Appendix A. Jabbār b. al-Ḥakam from the Sharīd was given the nickname al-Farrār (“he who flees from the battlefield”) because he fled from the B. ‘Awf, I. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, p. 499. If the Sulamī ‘Awf are meant, we may consider this to be a (vague) piece of evidence on fighting within Sulaym.

displayed impressively in the time of the Prophet: in the battles of Uḥūd and the Khandaq and in the conquest of Mecca Sulaym participated with hundreds of warriors from different clans. The evidence of the *ayyām* includes many references to the cooperation of clans.

Concerning the raid of ‘Abbās b. Mirdās against Zubayd and Quḍā’a and the battle at Tathlith<sup>13</sup> it is specifically mentioned that ‘Abbās recruited warriors from all the clans of Sulaym.<sup>14</sup> Since Buhtha (son of Sulaym) can also be considered the father of all Sulamī clans, reference to him implies Sulamī cooperation on a wide basis.<sup>15</sup> While the expedition against Zubayd and Quḍā’a must have been a major military effort, the *ayyām* show that Sulaym clans usually combined forces against their enemies.<sup>16</sup>

In what follows the evidence concerning the Imru’u l-Qays and the Tha‘laba branches is combined, because the scanty evidence on the latter branch invariably links it to the former.

The B. Sulaym played a prominent role in the conquest of Mecca (Ramaḍān 8 A.H./January 630). As part of his military build-up prior to the conquest, the Prophet summoned to Medina people from the *bādiya* of Medina: warriors from Aslam, Ghifār, Muzayna, Juhayna and Ashja‘ came to Medina. The warriors of Sulaym were to join the forces of the Prophet at Qudayd. The B. Ka‘b b. ‘Amr (from Khuzā’a) joined at Qudayd too, except those of them who were in Medina (and set out from

13 See above, Ch. I, n. 240.

14 *Aghānī*, XIII, p. 70, l. 17: *jama’a l-‘Abbās [...] jam’an min B. Sulaym fihi min jamī’i buṭūniḥā*.

15 See ‘Abbās b. Mirdās’ verse concerning the conquest of Mecca, I. Hishām, IV, p. 110, l. 8: *idh sāla min afnā’i Buhthata kullihā* etc. And cf. the battle-cry *yā la-Buhthata*, Anbārī, *Sharḥ qaṣā’id*, p. 465; and the reference to “the wolves of the Ḥijāz, the B. Buhtha and the B. Ja’far”, (i.e., Ja’far b. Kilāb) in connection with Bi’r Ma’ūna, Ḥassān, *Diwān*, II, p. 177.

16 It should be noted that, considering the fragmentary nature of the evidence, it is unrealistic to expect a list of participants in each of the *ayyām*.

Medina).<sup>17</sup> The Sulamīs and the Khuzā'īs did not have to come to Medina as Qudayd, which was on the route of the Prophet's forces, was closer to their territory than Medina. The B. Ka'b b. al-Ḥārith (from the Ḥārith branch) joined in or near their territory, between Qudayd and Mecca. The Sulamīs who came to Qudayd were all mounted on horseback. One report mentions that they numbered nine hundred warriors, all carrying spears and (other) weapons.<sup>18</sup> Among the other tribal units only part were horsemen.<sup>19</sup>

The Sulamīs did not form one unit. However, the number of units is unknown: while there is some indication that there were two main units divided into five secondary units,<sup>20</sup> verses of 'Abbās b. Mirdās on the conquest name Khufāf, Dhakwān and 'Awf<sup>21</sup> (which could imply that there were three main units). Khufāf and 'Awf are the main components of the Imru'ū l-Qays branch (beside them there was the Bahz clan) and Dhakwān were one of the two clans called Dhakwān in the Tha'laba branch. In addition, there was, as we have said, a unit from the Ḥārith branch. Another verse of 'Abbās mentions six hundred warriors from the B. 'Awf, the *raḥṭ* of Mujāshi' (i.e., Mujāshi' b. Mas'ūd) and four hundred from the B. Khufāf. The strength of Dhakwān is unknown. The Dhakwān b. Tha'laba cooperated with Khufāf and 'Awf in Bi'r Ma'ūna too: the clans

17 Wāqidi, II, p. 800 (read "b." instead of banī).

18 Wāqidi, II, 812: *wa-hum tis'umi'a 'alā l-khuyūl jamī'an, ma'a kulli rajul rumḥuhu wa-silāḥuhu*; see also *op. cit.*, p. 813: *kharajat B. Sulaym tis'umi'a 'alā l-khuyūl, wa-l-qanā wa-d-durū'u z-zāhira*.

19 The *Muhājirūn* numbered 700 and had 300 horses; the *Anṣār* numbered 4000 with 500 horses; Muzayna numbered 1000 with 100 horses and 100 shields (*dir'*); Aslam numbered 400 with 30 horses; Juhayna numbered 800 with 50 horses and Ka'b b. 'Amr numbered 500 with an unspecified number of horses, Wāqidi, pp. 800–1, 820.

20 Cf. Wāqidi, II, pp. 813 (*wa-ma'ahum liwā'āni wa-khamsu rāyāt, wa-r-rāyāt sūd*), 819.

21 I. Hishām, IV, p. 107; *Dīwān*, p. 89. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, IV, p. 743, no. 6109, wrongly thought that 'Awf was the name of an individual; another verse refers to the same groups, I. Hishām, IV, p. 109; *Dīwān*, p. 54. We may presume that only part of the Dhakwān were then on the Prophet's side; see above, the end of Ch. VI.

of 'Uṣayya (Khufāf), Zighb (Khufāf), Ri'l ('Awf) and Dhakwān appear in the Prophet's invocations against Sulaym.<sup>22</sup> In connection with his strife against Khufāf b. Nudba, 'Abbās b. Mirdās boasts that his clan<sup>23</sup> defeated Ri'l, Dhakwān and Khufāf.<sup>24</sup> The conquest of Mecca was obviously not the first case of military cooperation between Dhakwān from the Tha'laba branch and clans from the Imru'u l-Qays branch.

Separate units of Khufāf and 'Awf fought in the *yawm* of Dhū l-Athl against the B. Asad in which al-Khansā's brother Ṣakhr b. 'Amr led the B. Khufāf (he later died of wounds inflicted in this battle) and Anas b. 'Abbās led the B. 'Awf.<sup>25</sup>

## *The participants in the ayyām*

### *The Imru'u l-Qays branch*

*Against the B. Kināna:* The *yawm*<sup>26</sup> al-Kadīd took place in al-Kadīd, also

22 Kister 1981, pp. 255–6.

23 The B. 'Abs? 'Abs and other clans from the Ḥārith branch?

24 *Dīwān*, p. 92: *hazamnā idh laqinā jaysha Ri'lin wa-Dhakwānan wa-jam'a banī Khufāfi*.

Elsewhere in this context 'Abbās addresses the B. 'Awf, who appear to have been the supporters of Khufāf b. Nudba (a member of Khufāf), *Aghānī*, XVI, pp. 140, l. 16, 144, ll. 14 (Khufāf and 'Awf), 18, 19. (Khufāf himself addresses them too, p. 145, l. 12.) In another verse (*Aghānī*, XVI, p. 142, l. 6), 'Abbās addresses the B. Mālik as the rivalling party, which relates to the Mālik b. Khufāf. But cf. above, Ch. III, n. 23. (Mālik b. Yaqaza).

25 Landau-Tasseron, *Ridda=Aghānī*, XIII, pp. 136–73. Jāsir, "B. Sulaym", no. 6, pp. 128–9, quotes verses from the third century A.H. which prove the existence, in a military context, of two branches of Sulaym, Khufāf and 'Awf; see also Hajārī, p. 121, 361 ("the two branches of Sulaym", *far'a Sulaym*; "Khufāf, 'Awf and Ibn Buhtha"). The B. Khufāf and the B. 'Awf are mentioned in connection with the rebellion of the B. Sulaym in 230/844; see Appendix B.

26 For further information on the *ayyām* of Sulaym, see Jāsir, "B. Sulaym", no. 7b.

known as al-Kudayd, in the Ḥijāz, forty-two miles from Mecca.<sup>27</sup> A *ḥadīth* on a “little pilgrimage” performed by the Prophet places it between ‘Uṣfān and Amaj.<sup>28</sup> It was in the middle of the way between Amaj and ‘Uṣfān, at a distance of six miles from both.<sup>29</sup> Also mentioned in connection with this battle are Ghazāl,<sup>30</sup> which is the mountain-trail (*thaniyya*) of ‘Uṣfān, slightly more than one mile north of ‘Uṣfān<sup>31</sup> and Laft.<sup>32</sup>

The absence of the Sharīd family (from ‘Uṣayya) from this battle was considered unusual: the account of the *‘Iqd* is concluded with the remark, “And none from the B. ash-Sharīd took part in the *yawm al-Kadīd*”.<sup>33</sup> On that day Nubaysha b. Ḥabīb, from the B. ‘Uṣayya (but not from Sharīd)<sup>34</sup>

27 *Yāqūt*, s.v.

28 *Yāqūt*, s.v.; Bakrī, s.v., IV, pp. 1119–20; *Manāsik*, p. 462; cf. Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ*, s.v. Qudayd, p. 455; Bakrī, s.v. Qudayd, III, p. 1054.

29 Bakrī, III, p. 956. The *Manāsik* says that between Kadīd and ‘Uṣfān there are seven miles. There was another Kadīd near Raḥrahān; Hajārī’s claim (Hajārī, p. 241) that Rabī’a b. Mukaddam was killed there is wrong. Another definition referring to the same place says that it is a well eight miles from Khulayṣ in the direction of Mecca, Samh., s.v. al-Kadīd; *Manāsik*, p. 462.

30 See the account on this battle in Ḥassān, *Dīwān*, I, p. 409, l. 1 from bottom.

31 Bakrī, III, p. 956.

32 Bakrī, s.v., IV, p. 1159; cf. Ḥamza, *Durra fākhira*, I, p. 168. And cf. *Maghānim*, s.v. Kaft, p. 357.

33 *‘Iqd*, V, p. 174.

34 Nubaysha is mentioned in I. Durayd, *Ishtiqaq*, p. 311; his pedigree is reported by I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 261: Nubaysha b. Ḥabīb b. Ri’āb b. Rawāḥa b. Mulayl [b. ‘Uṣayya] (the B. ash-Sharīd were the descendants of Yaqaḥa b. ‘Uṣayya). Nubaysha seems to have been known also as Ibn Ṣirma (after his mother), Bakrī, p. 1120. Cf. Ḥassān, *Dīwān*, I, p. 410, verse no. 7. (And cf. *Aghānī*, XIII, p. 145, l. 18.) His *kunya* was Abū Ḥabīb, *Aghānī*, XIII, p. 141, l. 21.

Rawāḥa was also the great-grandfather of the poet Abū Shajara ‘Amr b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā b. ‘Abdallāh b. Rawāḥa b. Mulayl b. ‘Uṣayya, I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 159a; Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1190a. ‘Amr b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā b. ‘Abdallāh b. Rawāḥa is his name also in I. Ḥabīb, *Kunā sh-shu’arā*, p. 284, and in more detail in Wāqidi, *Kitāb ar-ridda*, quoted in the *Iṣāba*, IV,

killed Rabi'a b. Mukaddam, the prominent warrior from the B. Firās b. Ghanm.<sup>35</sup> Another version says that the killing of Rabi'a was carried out by Ibn Ghādiya al-Aslamī al-Khuzā'i, who was a confederate of Sulaym.<sup>36</sup> The account found in the *Diwān* of Ḥassān does mention a member of the Sharid family: Mālik b. Khālid b. ash-Sharīd (*dhū t-tāj*) was briefed about the battle but clearly had not fought in it. He pointed out that the raid was unsuccessful: one man killed from Kināna and four Sulamīs killed by the same man. Mālik vowed to kill a hundred men from Kināna and capture their wives.<sup>37</sup>

The next battle, in fact a continuation of the former, took place not far

p. 657, no. 5903 (b. Mulayl b. 'Uṣayya); but I. Qutayba, *Shi'r*, I, p. 344, calls Abū Shajara: 'Abdallah b. Rawāḥa b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā. The *Iṣāba*, VII, p. 202, no. 10093, mentions another version as well: Sulaym b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā. Elsewhere he is called Sulaym b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Ubayd, *Iṣāba*, III, p. 168, 2443; al-Marzubānī, quoted in the *Iṣāba*, VII, p. 203, has two pedigrees: 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā, and another, very unusual one: 'Abdallha b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Qaṭan b. Riyāḥ b. 'Aṣar b. Ma'īṣ b. Khufāf b. Imrī'i l-Qays b. Bahz b. Sulaym. Cf. on Nubaysha below, Ch. VIII, n. 37.

35 b. Tha'laba b. Mālik b. Kināna, *Aghānī*, XIV, pp. 130–2; Jāḥiẓ, *Burṣān*, p. 394; Ḥassān, *Diwān*, I, pp. 496–7, no. 333 (in verse no. 7 read: *jidhla t-ṭi'ān* instead of *ḥadhāra t-ṭi'ān*: Ḥassān addresses the B. Firās using the nickname of 'Alqama b. Firās). Other verses reprimand and mock the B. Bakr and the B. 'Alī. The B. Bakr are the Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt b. Kināna (the Firās were from the B. Mālik b. Kināna) and the B. 'Alī are the descendants of 'Abd Manāt b. Kināna; see I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 180; see also Ḥassān, I, p. 410, no. 6. (The *Aghānī* says that according to another version, the verses were composed by one of the B. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj.) Nubaysha's horse on that day was al-Aḥzam, Alūsī, *Bulūgh al-arab*, II, p. 107. Cf. Caskel 1931, 24.

36 I. Kalbī, *Khayl*, pp. 28–9.

37 The story of the Kadid battle found its way into the collections of proverbs; see Ḥamza, *Durra fākhira*, I, p. 167–8, no. 192; Maydānī, *Amthāl*, I, pp. 221–2, no. 1185; Zamakh., *Mustaqṣā*, I, pp. 88–9, no. 335. See also Alūsī, *Bulūgh al-arab*, I, pp. 144–5. I. Kalbī, *Khayl*, pp. 99–100, mentions *yawm* Burj: Qatāda b. al-Kindī from the B. Kināna was satirized by Mālik b. Khālid as-Sulamī because he had fled on that day. No further details could be found.

from al-Kadīd, in Burza (modern Barza, see map).<sup>38</sup> The accounts of this battle<sup>39</sup> refer only to a series of duels. The protagonist is Mālik b. Khālid *dhū t-tāj* from the B. ash-Sharīd. In a gloss the *'Iqd* says that the B. Sulaym had crowned him and appointed him as their commander.<sup>40</sup> The narrative of the *'Iqd* suggests a link between the Kadīd and the Burza battles: after the B. Sulaym had killed Rabī'a b. Mukaddam an unspecified period of time elapsed. Then Mālik raided the B. Firās, who were under the command of 'Abdallah b. Jidhl. 'Abdallah, who was avenging the death of Rabī'a, summoned to a duel. He rejected Hind b. Khālid, saying that his brother, Mālik, was older than him. In the duel he killed Mālik and in another duel – his brother Kurz. A third duel, against a third brother called 'Amr, ended indecisively with the two warriors wounded.<sup>41</sup>

A third battle between Sulaym and Firās was fought in al-Fayfā'.<sup>42</sup> The account<sup>43</sup> and the identity of the participants again suggest continuity: on the Sulamī side we find a commander, 'Amr b. Khālid, who was wounded in the Burza battle. There are verses in which Hind b. Khālid, who was spared the duel with 'Abdallah b. Jidhl in the previous battle, boasts of

38 See Yāqūt, s.v. Yāqūt mentions that he saw the form Barza as well. According to 'Ātiq b. Ghayth al-Ḥarbī, Barza is in the upper part of *wādī Ghurān* (see map); see *al-'Arab* (Riyāḍ) VI,iv(December 1971), p. 310. Bakrī calls this place Buzra (see s.v.), cf. Yāqūt and *Maghānim*, s.v. Buzra.

39 *'Iqd*, V, pp. 174–6; 'Abbās b. Mirdās, *Dīwān*, pp. 130–1.

40 *Wa-kānat B. Sulyam qad tawwajū Mālikan wa-ammarūhu 'alayhim*. The wording in Yāqūt (s.v. Burza) is slightly different: the B. Sulaym had crowned him, then they made him their king (*kāna B. Sulaym b. Maṣūr tawwajūhu thumma mallakūhu 'alayhim*). See Appendix A.

41 Another version says that Rabī'a b. Mukaddam's brother Abū l-Fārī'a killed Mālik, but spared the life of Hind, Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1198b.

42 Bakrī, s.v. Fayf; I found nothing more precise on its location than Bakrī's statement, probably based on the story of the battle, that it is in the land of Kināna.

43 *'Iqd*, V, pp. 176–7: *thumma inna B. Sulaym ḥarramū 'alā anfusihimi n-nisā'a wa-d-duhna* etc.

having killed three Firāsī warriors, avenging the death of his brothers.<sup>44</sup>

As we can see, the reports on the battles against the Kināna refer to the Sulamī clan 'Uṣayya, with the Sharīd family figuring prominently.

*Against the Murra and Fazāra from Ghaṭafān:* Al-Ḥawra was the site of two battles between Sulaym and Ghaṭafān, which took place in successive years. The exact form of this place-name and the location are problematic.<sup>45</sup> Jāsir says<sup>46</sup> that the correct name is Ḥawra, which is a *wādī* still known in our time. He refers to a *wādī* called Ḥuwara<sup>47</sup> south of *wādī* as-Sitāra (see map). The location of Ḥawra indicates that the southwestern slopes of the *ḥarrat* B. Sulaym were the site of fighting not only with the Kināna but with the Murra and Fazāra from Ghaṭafān as well.

The account of the fighting in Ḥawra names only the leaders: the commander Mu'āwiya b. 'Amr and Khufāf b. 'Umayr (i.e., Khufāf b. Nudba) on the Sulamī side. On the Murra-Fazāra side: Hāshim b. Ḥarmala and his brother Durayd from the B. Ṣirma b. Murra, and Mālik b. Ḥimār, the *sayyid* of the B. Shamkh b. Fazāra. One leader was killed

44 On Sulaym's attack on the Kinānī B. Layth, see I. Qutayba, *'Uyūn al-akhbār*, I, pp. 170–1. The report lacks concrete information.

45 Abū 'Ubayda was not sure whether it was called al-Ḥawza(!) or al-Jawza, *Aghānī*, XIII, p. 141, l. 9: [...] *bi-makān yud'ā al-Ḥawza awi l-Jawza, wa-sh-shakk min Abī 'Ubayda*. Cf. Caskel 1931, pp. 12, 28, 48. However, Bakrī (s.v. Ḥawra) says that in his *Maqātil al-fursān* Abū 'Ubayda (cf. above, Ch. I, n. 59) doubted whether the place was called al-Ḥawra or al-Jawra. Basing himself on a verse of Nuṣayb, Bakrī concludes that the place was al-Ḥawra. The *'Iqd* (V, pp. 163f) has: al-Ḥawza. (Yāqūt mentions a *wādī* in the Ḥijāz called Ḥawza [s.v.] in which 'Amr b. Ma'dī Karib fought against the B. Sulaym.) According to a report in the *Aghānī* (XVI, p. 139, quoting al-Jumāhī) the raid was against the B. Dhubyān. He calls the battle *yawm* al-Jazira(!). The Dār al-Kutub edition, XVIII, p. 74, has: *yawm* Ḥawza.

46 "B. Sulaym", no. 7b, p. 383.

47 In some maps the name is written Ḥawara. In the upper part of the *wādī* there is a mine.



on each side. Durayd and Hāshim managed to kill Mu'āwiya, employing a cavalry stratagem<sup>48</sup> and Khufāf killed Mālik b. Ḥimār.<sup>49</sup> There were, of course, other warriors as well. Even after the retreat of part of the Sulamīs (because of bad omens they encountered on the way) they still had nineteen cavalymen.<sup>50</sup> The colourful description of the Sulamīs<sup>51</sup> includes, beside Mu'āwiya and Khufāf, both from the Sharīd family, the following: 'Abbās al-Aṣamm (from Ri'l), Nubaysha b. Ḥabīb (from 'Uṣayya, but not from Sharīd), 'Abbās b. Mirdās (from 'Abs) and al-Khansā's husband 'Abd al-'Uzzā (a relative of Nubaysha, i.e., from 'Uṣayya but not from Sharīd).<sup>52</sup>

The second al-Ḥawra battle was a continuation of the first: in it Ṣakhr avenged the death of his brother Mu'āwiya, killing Durayd b. Ḥarmala and inflicting losses on the B. Murra.<sup>53</sup> The account on the battle is focused on the role of Ṣakhr. In addition, there is mention of Abū Shajara b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā, whose father participated in the first Ḥawra battle. He appears in the only scene from this battle which is described in some detail.<sup>54</sup>

48 The identity of the killer was disputed, *Aghānī*, p. 141, l. 1 from bottom.

49 See also *Isti'āb*, II, p. 450, s.v. Khufāf b. Nudba; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, III, pp. 226–7; *Khizāna*, V, p. 440; *Lisān al-'arab*, s.v. *ṣ.m.m.*, pp. 347–8.

50 *Aghānī*, p. 141, l. 12.

51 *Loc. cit.*

52 I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 261; above, n. 34.

53 *Aghānī*, XIII, pp. 145–6; *Iqd*, V, pp. 164–6.

54 *Iqd*, p. 164. Ṣakhr mentions, in a few boastful verses, those killed by him in that battle. Some of them are named (*Aghānī*, p. 146, l. 4): “the two Khālids, Bishr, 'Amr and Ibn Bishr”. In addition, there were men from Shamkh, from Badr, from Murra and from the *afnā'* of Tha'laba b. Sa'd. The Shamkh b. Fazāra b. Dhubyān (I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, pp. 255, 258–9; on Mālik b. Ḥimār, see p. 259, l. 6) and the Murra b. 'Awf b. Sa'd b. Dhubyān (I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, pp. 252–5; Hāshim b. Ḥarmala was from the B. Ṣirma b. Murra, p. 254) were both mentioned in the first battle. Badr can be no other than the B. Badr from the 'Adī b. Fazāra, the group of Ḥudhayfa b. Badr and his grandson 'Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn b. Ḥudhayfa, I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 256. On the Tha'laba b. Sa'd b. Dhubyān b. Baghiḍ, see

Very little could be found on the *yawm* 'Adniyya or Milḥān. When Ṣakhr was in an expedition the tribe remained undefended, and the Ghaṭafān tried to take advantage of this. However, they were repelled by the youths and those who were left behind. This battle is called the *yawm* of 'Adniyya or Milḥān.<sup>55</sup> Yāqūt<sup>56</sup> says that it is a mountain in the territory of the B. Sulaym in the Ḥijāz. No further information on the attack or the places could be found.

Also in the battles against Ghaṭafān the 'Uṣayya, and especially the Sharīd family, were the most prominent group. There is also reference to 'Abbās al-Aṣamm ar-Ri'lī from the 'Awf b. Imri'i l-Qays and to 'Abbās b. Mirdās from the 'Abs (who belonged to the Ḥārith branch).

*Against Asad:* The report on the fighting with the B. Asad in Dhāt (or Dhū) al-Athl includes a unique record of the cooperation of the 'Awf and Khufāf groups.<sup>57</sup> Bakrī<sup>58</sup> probably has no clue as to its location, since he says only that it is "a place between the land of Asad and the land of Sulaym".<sup>59</sup>

I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 169a-b. On a Murri captive in the hands of the B. Sulaym, see Alūsī, *Bulūgh al-arab*, II, p. 118. The B. Ḥuyayy mentioned in the verses of Zayd (or Yazid) b. Sinān b. Abī Ḥāritha from the B. Murra (I. Kalbī, *Khayl*, p. 70) are, presumably, the B. Ri'l: Ḥuyayy was Ri'l's son.

55 *'Iqd*, V, pp. 167–8; Bakrī, s.v. 'Adniyya, III, p. 925. Hamdānī's definition of Milḥān (in Bakrī, s.v., IV, p. 1254) refers to another Milḥān, in the Yemen; see *Ṣiḥā*, Index. Yāqūt does not have an entry for 'Adniyya.

56 S.v. Milḥān.

57 A reconstruction of this battle from extant reports (see *Aghānī*, XIII, pp. 136–8; *'Iqd*, V, pp. 16–7; see also the verses of Anas b. 'Abbās ar-Ri'lī in Marzubānī, *Mu'jam*, p. 263) could be fruitfully carried out.

58 S.v. Dhāt al-Athl, I, p. 107.

59 The definition in Yāqūt, s.v. al-Athl: "Dhāt al-Athl in the territory of Taym Allāh b. Tha'laba in which they fought a battle against the B. Asad" may or may not relate to the site of the Sulamī raid. Dhū l-Athl cannot be a place near Tabūk, cf. Bakrī, s.v. al-Akhrāb, I, p. 121. Also it does not seem to be identical to Dhū l-Athl "from Waddān" which is

The account on the battle in the *'Iqd* corresponds basically to one of the two reports (both go back to Abū 'Ubayda) found in the *Aghānī*. In the latter source one report<sup>60</sup> is referred by Abū 'Ubayda to Abū Bilāl b. Sahm, his Sulamī informant. Later in the report (after he deviates from Abū Bilāl's narrative to indicate a different opinion concerning the identity of the protagonist's wife) Abū 'Ubayda quotes the Banū Bilāl b. Sahm. A fuller pedigree of Abū Bilāl appears elsewhere:<sup>61</sup> Abū Bilāl b. Sahm b. 'Abbās b. Mirdās. In other words we have here a story preserved by the family of 'Abbās, which was, presumably, recorded by Abū 'Ubayda in his "field work".<sup>62</sup>

In the *'Iqd/Aghānī* report Ṣakhr b. 'Amr b. ash-Sharīd raided the B. Asad, swept off their camels and captured their women (the last detail: the *Aghānī* only).<sup>63</sup> The focus of the *'Iqd/Aghānī* report is not on the battle but on Ṣakhr's illness and death, while the colour is provided by his relationship with his wife.<sup>64</sup> The other report in the *Aghānī* (which precedes the one mentioned above) goes back to Abū 'Ubayda as well through different sources. Not only Ṣakhr was there: Ṣakhr and Anas b. 'Abbās ar-Ri'li raided the B. Asad, *leading the B. Khufāf and the B. 'Awf* (respectively). Each of the commanders was leading a separate unit (under its own flag).<sup>65</sup>

mentioned in a verse of Nuṣayb, and which Bakrī (s.v. Dhū l-Athl, I, pp. 107–8; see also s.v. al-Ajāwil, p. 111) defines as "a place in Waddān". Waddān is present-day Mastūra, *Manāsik*, p. 414, n. 2. Dhū l-Athl in a verse of Yazid b. 'Abdallah b. Zam'a, Bakrī, s.v. Istāra, III, p. 723, is the place just mentioned.

60 Beginning on p. 137, l. 4.

61 *Aghānī*, XIII, p. 140, l. 8 from bottom.

62 See also *Aghānī*, XIII, p. 145, ll. 1, 3.

63 The same source even names Budayla, an Asadi woman whom Ṣakhr took for himself after he had captured her from the B. Asad. The other report in the *Aghānī*, to be discussed below, says that Budayla was his wife (i.e., his lawfully-wedded wife, not a slave-girl).

64 See also I. Qutayba, *'Uyūn al-akhbār*, IV, pp. 118–9; *Aṣma'iyyāt*, p. 146.

65 *Wa-kānā mutasānidayni*. See *Lisān al-'arab*, s.v. s.n.d., p. 222: *yūqālu: kharaja l-qawmu mutasānidīna, ay 'alā rāyāt shattā, idhā kharaja kullu banū abin 'alā rāya, wa-lam yakūnū*

Although we found ‘Abbās al-Aṣamm ar-Ri’lī in the fighting against Ghatafān, a unit from the ‘Awf under the command of Anas b. ‘Abbās, which fought side by side with a unit from Khufāf, appears here for the first time. The tribal units of Khufāf and ‘Awf, whom we encountered in the conquest of Mecca, were also active in the battle against Asad.

*Against Tamīm and Bakr b. Wā’il:* The B. Ri’l took part in battles against Tamīm and Bakr b. Wā’il on the eastern boundaries of the land of Sulaym. In the *yawm* ad-Dafina the Tamīmī clan B. Māzin<sup>66</sup> attacked the B. Sulaym and inflicted heavy losses on the B. Ri’l, who were camping in that water-place. Consequently the Ri’l became one of the least numerous clans of Sulaym. The commander of the Ri’l, al-Ḥuṣayn ar-Ri’lī, was also killed. Verses of ‘Abbās b. ‘Āmir b. Ḥuṣayy b. Ri’l (also known as ‘Abbās b. Rayṭa) refer to his participation in this battle.<sup>67</sup> Later, other clans from Sulaym chased after the Tamīmīs, in vain.<sup>68</sup>

Nuṣayb as-Sulamī, presumably from Ri’l, was the commander of an army from Sulaym which attacked the B. Shaybān from the Bakr b. Wā’il in *yawm* al-Jarīb and Rākis.<sup>69</sup> The Shaybān inflicted heavy losses on Sulaym.<sup>70</sup>

*taḥta rāyati amīr wāḥid.* On this battle see also I. Qutayba, *Shi’r*, I, pp. 344–5; Ḥuṣari, *Zahr*, II, pp. 930–1 (the Asadi who wounded him was Thawr b. Rabi’a, not Rabi’a b. Thawr). Again, the account of this battle is behind a proverb, Bakrī, *Faṣl al-maqāl*, p. 71–2. Another version in this source has that Ṣakhr fought then against Wa’la al-Jarmī. On a raid by the Asadi al-Ḥārith b. Warqā’ (from the B. aṣ-Ṣaydā’ b. ‘Amr b. Qu’ayn) on Sulaym see Zuhayr, *Diwān*, p. 326.

66 b. Mālik b. ‘Amr b. Tamīm; or the ‘Amr b. Tamīm.

67 *Naqā’id*, I, p. 392: *fa-aṣābū B. Ri’l* (printed: *Zi’l*) *min B. Sulaym wa-hum ‘alā d-Dafina fa-qatalū minhum maqtala ‘aẓima, lam yazālū (sic) min aqalli B. Sulaym.*

68 See above, Ch. I, n. 224. On *yawm* Qutād between Tamīm and Sulaym (only the Ri’l are specifically mentioned), see Bakrī, s.v. Qutād, III, p. 1048; cf. Yāqūt, s.v. On the treaty between Ri’l and Tamīm see also above, Ch. I, n. 225.

69 Jāsir, “B. Sulaym”, no. 7b, p. 390–I. Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, p. 609 (vocalised: an-Naṣīb).

70 *Fa-ẓafirat Shaybān wa-nḥazamat Sulaym wa-qutila minhum maqtala kathīra wa-usira*

*Against Hudhayl:* In a battle against Hudhayl we encounter all subdivisions of Imru'ū l-Qays: Khufāf, 'Awf and Bahz. 'Ar'ara b. 'Āṣiya from the B. Bahz attacked the B. Sahm b. Mu'āwiya from Hudhayl in their territory in al-Juruf (or al-Jurf) near Waddān to avenge the killing of his brother 'Amr b. 'Āṣiya.<sup>71</sup> In this battle the horsemen under the command of 'Ar'ara included 'Ubayda b. Ḥakīm ash-Sharīdī, 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith ash-Sharīdī, Abū Mālīk al-Bahzī, Qays b. 'Amr from the B. Maṭrūd ('Awf) and warriors from Ri'l ('Awf).<sup>72</sup>

In 'Ushar, not far from Nakhla east of Mecca,<sup>73</sup> the B. Bahz betrayed the B. 'Ujra from Hudhayl after having given them a guarantee of security.<sup>74</sup>

*minhum nās kathīr wa-lam yanju illā l-qalīl.* Nuṣayb could have been a corruption of Ḥuṣayn, but whereas al-Ḥuṣayn as-Sulamī was killed in the battle of ad-Dafina, Nuṣayb was slain by the Shaybān after being taken captive in the above battle. Cf. the mention of Tamīm, Bakr b. Wā'il and Kināna as potential enemies of Sulaym above, Ch. I, n. 246.

71 Bakrī, I, pp. 376–7; Jāsir, “B. Sulaym”, no. 7b, p. 393=*Aghānī*, XI, pp. 14–6 (two reports, of 'Umar b. Shabba and Abū 'Ubayda) and *Sharḥ ash'ār al-Hudhaliyyīna*, III, p. 1004 (*wa-qā'ida Bahzīn qad qatalnā*); Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1197a-b (Abū 'Ubayda and others). The definition of Yāqūt, s.v. al-Jurf; *Maghānim*, s.v., p. 89, l. 3, “a place near Mecca in which there was a battle between Hudhayl and Sulaym”, seems to be inaccurate. The killing of As'ad b. Majda'a al-Hudhali by Bahz (*Aṣma'iyyāt*, pp. 101, 103) seems unrelated to the aforementioned battle. The Hudhali presence in Tihāma near Waddān (which may have belonged to an earlier period) grants some credibility to the statement of Ibn al-Kalbī, that Manāt (see Yāqūt, s.v., p. 204, left column) was a rock belonging to Hudhayl in Qudayd. Elsewhere Ibn al-Kalbī says (*Aṣnām*, p. 14) that Manāt belonged to Hudhayl and Khuza'a. The ownership of Hudhayl (and Khuza'a) could have preceded that of the Aws, the Khazraj and other Azdis. For evidence concerning Bahzī presence on the western slopes of the ḥarra, see above, Ch. I, n. 110.

72 *Aghānī*, XI, p. 16, l. 4.

73 Yāqūt, s.vv. 'Ushar and Dā'a; Lughda, p. 25.

74 See the elegy of the Hudhali poet Abū Dhu'ayb, *Dīwān al-Hudhaliyyīn*, I, p. 44. See also Bakrī, s.v. Kawsā', IV, p. 1141; *Dīwān al-Hudhaliyyīn*, I, p. 86; Yāqūt, s.v. Kawsā'.

### The Ḥārith branch

The Ḥārith branch participated in the major military efforts of Sulaym such as the pre-Islamic expedition against Zubayd and Quḍā'a under the command of 'Abbās b. Mirdās (himself from the B. 'Abs, a Ḥārithī clan) and the conquest of Mecca. 'Abbās participated in one of the battles against Ghaṭafān. However, usually they did not participate in the *ayyām* of the Imru'ū l-Qays branch and Imru'ū l-Qays warriors did not participate in their *ayyām*. This is somewhat surprising since the battles against Kināna and Ghaṭafān took place on the western slopes of the ḥarrat B. Sulaym, in or near the territory of the Ḥārith branch.

In the *yawm* Jabala, a few decades before Islam, the B. 'Abs b. Rifā'a fought under the command of Mirdās, the father of 'Abbās b. Mirdās.<sup>75</sup> A rare reference to the strength of the family of 'Abbās, namely the B. Jāriya, mentions three hundred people who came with 'Abbās to the Prophet in Medina.<sup>76</sup>

In the night-battle known as *laylat Midhfār* (read: *Midhfār*), al-Mu'tariḍ b. Ḥanwā' az-Zafarī attacked the B. Wāthila b. Muṭḥal<sup>77</sup> from Hudhayl. Other places mentioned in connection with the attack are al-Makhīm and al-Qadūm, in Na'mān. *Wādī* Na'mān south of Mecca still appears on modern maps. The guide of the raiders was a man from the Hudhālī B. Khunā'a.<sup>78</sup>

75 *Naqā'id*, I, pp. 659, 670–3; Alūsī, *Bulūgh al-arab*, II, p. 71; above, n. 1.

76 I. 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, the volume beginning with 'Ubāda b. Awfā, p. 238. The report is one of the versions of the story on 'Abbās' Islamization. Having realized that the worshipping of their idol came to an end with the appearance of the Prophet, he went with his fellow tribesmen to the Prophet: *fa-kharajtu fi thalāthimi'atin min qawmī min B. Jāriya ilā rasūli 'llāhi ṣ. wa-huwa bi-l-Madīna*. The number seems exaggerated. Cf. the stereotypic use of the number three hundred to explain the name Sa'd al-'Ashira, I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 405.

77 Cf. above, Ch. VI, n. 135.

78 Bakrī, s.v. al-Makhīm, IV, p. 1198; Yāqūt, s.v. Qadūm, p. 312, left column. Jāsir, "B. Sulaym", no. 7b, p. 393=*Sharḥ ash'ār al-Hudhaliyyīna*, II, 858–9, mentions an attack of al-Jamūḥ az-Zafarī on al-Ḥārith b. Ḥabīb al-Hudhālī in Na'mān.

As one can see from the above evidence, far less is known about the *ayyām* of the Ḥārith branch than about those of the Imru'ū l-Qays branch. There are two possibilities: 1. They were less active militarily; 2. Informants from the Imru'ū l-Qays played a bigger role in transmitting the accounts of their *ayyām* to Abū 'Ubayda and his colleagues. Khufāf b. Nudba and 'Abbās b. Mirdās appear in the reports on the *ayyām* and on the conquest of Mecca.<sup>79</sup> More significantly, the 'Awf and Khufāf units are encountered both in the *ayyām* and in the conquest.

Three families, two from the Imru'ū l-Qays and one from the Ḥārith, were very prominent in the *ayyām*: the Sharid ('Uṣayya – Khufāf), the family of 'Abbās al-Aṣamm (Ri'l – 'Awf) and the Jāriya ('Abs).

### *The participants in the ridda*

Landau-Tasseron observes that the *ridda* of Sulaym is made up of a few incidents:<sup>80</sup> 1. The expulsion of the tax-collector 'Irbāḍ b. Sāriya;<sup>81</sup> 2. The robbing of a caravan sent by the King of Ghassān to the Prophet; 3. The al-Fujā'a affair;<sup>82</sup> and 4. The Abū Shajara affair. The report on the caravan lists the participants in the *ridda*: the 'Uṣayya, especially the B. al-Ḥakam from Sharid, who actually robbed the caravan, the 'Amīra, the 'Awf b. Imri'ī l-Qays and part of the B. Jāriya. Another list of participants is different in two details: the Dhakwān (i.e., Dhakwān b. Tha'laba) are added and instead of "part of the B. Jāriya" it simply says: Jāriya.<sup>83</sup>

79 The statement that Jabbār b. al-Ḥakam (al-Farrār b. al-Farrār) was the commander of Sulaym in the *Jāhiliyya* (I. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, pp. 499–500; above, Ch. III, n. 4) could not be verified by the available evidence.

80 See her exhaustive study on the *ridda* of Sulaym, *Ridda*, pp. 227–34. She thinks (p. 227) that the incidents were not necessarily linked with each other, which seems to me doubtful.

81 On him see above, Ch. IV, n. 32.

82 See above, Ch. III, n. 49.

83 Landau-Tasseron, *Ridda*, p. 227=Kalā'i, *Ridda*, pp. 152–3. Text: *ahdā malik min mulūk Ghassān ilā n-nabī ṣ. bi-laṭīma fihā misk wa-'anbar wa-khayl, fa-kharajat bihā r-rusul ḥattā idhā kânū bi-arḍ B. Sulaym balaghathum wafātu n-nabī ṣ., fa-tashajja'a ba'd B. Sulaym*

Dhakwān belong to the Tha'laba branch. The 'Uṣayya and 'Amīra are from the Khufāf. The 'Awf are, like Khufāf, a tribal group within the Imru'u l-Qays branch. The Jāriya and the B. al-Ḥakam (Sharīd) are families from the 'Abs (Ḥārith branch) and 'Uṣayya, respectively. The list is not contradicted by the detailed reports on the *ridda*: all the individuals mentioned in them are from one of the groups listed.<sup>84</sup> Not surprisingly, almost all the groups (with the exception of 'Amīra) are known to us from the reports on the *ayyām* of Sulaym.

The link with the *ayyām* is even more conspicuous when we consider the role of the family of 'Abbās b. Mirdās, of the B. Jāriya and of the B. al-Ḥakam, i.e., the Sharīd:<sup>85</sup> two of the three families that were prominent in the *ayyām* are involved in the *ridda*. The family of 'Abbās al-Aṣamm is not specifically mentioned.<sup>86</sup>

*Sharīd*: A report on the aftermath of the *ridda* includes the names of the sons of al-Ḥakam that participated in the robbing of the caravan: Mu'āwiya and Khamīṣa sons of al-Ḥakam.<sup>87</sup> Khamīṣa killed a Sulamī

*'alā akhdhihā wa-r-ridda wa-abā ba'ḍuhum min (sic) dhālika wa-qālū: in kāna Muḥammad qad māta fa-inna 'llāha ḥayy lā yamūtu. Wa-kāna 'lladhina 'rtaddū minhum 'Uṣayya wa-B. 'Amīra wa-B. 'Awf wa-ba'ḍ B. Ḥāritha (read: Jāriya) wa-'lladhina 'ntahabū l-laṭīma fa-tamazzaqūhā B. al-Ḥakam b. Mālik (b. Mālik is erroneously repeated) b. Khālīd b. ash-Sharīd; Landau-Tasseron, Ridda, p. 226=I. Ḥubaysh, p. 10.*

84 Unfortunately, this does not work the other way round: no individuals from Dhakwān and 'Awf could be found in those reports.

85 Abū Shajara who was a leading figure in the *ridda* was only half-Sharīd: his mother was the poetess al-Khansā' from Sharīd but his father was from another division of 'Uṣayya.

86 They were, however, part of the B. 'Awf who were among the rebels.

87 Landau-Tasseron, p. 253, n. 134=Kalā'i, *Ridda*, p. 159–60. Abū Bakr blamed the Sharīd for robbing the caravan (*wa-'amidum yā banī sh-Sharīd ilā laṭīma bu'itha bihā ilā rasūli 'llāhi ṣ. fa-'ntahabtumūhā*) and Mu'āwiya guaranteed its return, I. Ḥubaysh, p. 68. Khamīṣa is also mentioned in a report on an incident during the *ridda*; he is said to have been recruiting rebels, Kalā'i, *Ridda*, p. 156.



called Qabiṣa who was on the Muslim side. He was from an otherwise unknown group called the B. aḍ-Ḍarbān (from the B. Khufāf).<sup>88</sup>

*Jāriya*: They too must have played a significant role. Among the many Sulamīs burnt alive by Khālīd b. al-Walīd after the battle of al-Jiwā', four were from the B. Jāriya: Hubayra and Surāqa sons of Mirdās b. Abī 'Āmir (and brothers of 'Abbās b. Mirdās), Khamiṣa b. Ḍirār b. Abī 'Āmir (the cousin of 'Abbās) and Ibn Khalaf b. Murra b. Jāriya.<sup>89</sup>

88 The *Iṣāba*, V, pp. 413–4, no. 7070, has an entry on him, entitled: Qabiṣa as-Sulamī, from the B. aḍ-Ḍarbān. He quotes from Wāqidi, *Kitāb ar-ridda*, the story of his fighting against the rebels and his killing by Khamiṣa (erroneously printed: Qabiṣa) b. al-Ḥakam. An unusual record claims that the eponym ash-Sharīd himself(!), the great-grandfather of Khansā' and Khufāf b. Nudba, died in the time of 'Umar and remained loyal to Islam during the *ridda*; he even wrote a panegyric poem on Abū Bakr; see Landau-Tasseron, *Ridda*, p. 234. She rightly observes that he was "brought back to life" to cover-up the participation of the B. ash-Sharīd in the *ridda*. Another Sharīdī, Khufāf b. Nudba, was also reported to have remained loyal in the *ridda*. See *Iṣāba*, II, p. 336.

89 Landau-Tasseron, *Ridda*, p. 233=I. Ḥubaysh, p. 68 (written al-Mirdās, with the article). The two brothers Ma'n b. Ḥājiz (Ḥājiz was his great-grandfather, not his father) and Ṭurayfa, who fought on the Muslim side, may have been from Jāriya: Ma'n was from the B. "Ḥāritha", Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, III, p. 266, l. 1 (quoting Ibn Ishāq < "Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr [b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm; see on him *Tahdhib at-tahdhib*, V, pp. 164–5, no. 281]). Ḥāritha is a common corruption of Jāriya. The entries on Ṭurayfa in the *Uṣd al-ghāba*, III, pp. 51–2 and the *Istī'āb*, II, p. 776, no. 1299 (the latter is quoted in the former) quote from Sayf b. 'Umar (probably from his *Futūḥ*; see below) the story of his involvement in the *ridda*; the entry in the *Iṣāba*, III, p. 518, no. 4248, has a more detailed pedigree. This source quotes the *Istī'āb* and Sayf. Since the more detailed pedigree is not in the *Istī'āb*, Ibn Ḥajar must have copied it from Sayf: Ṭurayfa b. Abān b. Salama b. Ḥājiz. The entries on Ma'n b. Ḥājiz provide no further information. The *Iṣāba*, VI, p. 308, no. 8458, refers to reports on his fighting in the *ridda* which are found in Sayf's *Futūḥ*.

## VIII

# The letters of the Prophet to Sulaym

The Prophet's letters to Sulaym provide rich source material on the tribe in the early days of Islam. Jāsir found thirteen Sulamīs who received letters from the Prophet, far more than in any other tribe; the next highest tribe was the 'Āmir b. Ša'ša'a with seven recipients, followed by al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b with six, Tamīm with five etc.<sup>1</sup>

### *The Ḥārith branch*

#### *The B. Jāriya ('Abs)*

There are no less than four letters written to members of the B. Jāriya.<sup>2</sup>

*Salama b. Mālik and 'Abbās b. Mirdās:* The name Madfū appears in two similar (but not identical) letters to two people from the B. Jāriya, 'Abbās b. Mirdās b. Abī 'Āmir and his cousin, Salama b. Mālik b. Abī 'Āmir. Ibn Sa'd records the two letters in succession.<sup>3</sup> Jāsir suggests that the two men

1 Jāsir, *Qaṭā'i*, no. 1, p. 2.

2 This is impressive when compared to the two letters written to the 'Uṣayya (one of which to the Sharīd family) and the two letters written to the Ri'l. The number of letters either reflects the importance of the recipients or is the result of better preservation of what was received.

3 I. Sa'd, I, p. 273; Wellhausen, *Skizzen* IV, no. 34; I. Kathir, *Bidāya*, V, p. 353, l. 10 (the 'Abbās letter, quoted from Ibn 'Asākir with an *isnād* going back to 'Abd al-Malik b. Abī

may have shared the grant.<sup>4</sup> Salama b. Mālik is also mentioned as the recipient of another letter concerning another locality.<sup>5</sup> The text of the other letter in Ibn Sa'd includes the boundaries of the land, Dhāt al-Ḥanāzī and Dhāt al-Asāwid.<sup>6</sup> The version found in the companions' dictionary of Ibn Manda is significant: it includes not only the boundaries but also the name of the locality itself, Ḥādha, which was omitted from the version found in Ibn Sa'd.<sup>7</sup> Thus we have three letters, two mentioning

Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm < his father < his grandfather). Cf. Ḥamidullah, *Wathā'iq*, p. 656; I. Tūlūn, *I'lām as-sā'ilīna*, p. 143. Text: *wa-kataba rasūlu 'llāhi ṣ. li-Salama b. Mālik b. Abī 'Āmir as-Sulamī min B. Jāriya* (printed: Ḥāritha), *annahu a'tāhu Madfuwwan, lā yuḥāqquhu fihī aḥadun wa-man ḥāqqahu fa-lā ḥaqqa lahu wa-ḥaqquhu ḥaqq*. 2. *wa-kataba rasūlu 'llāhi ṣ. li-l-'Abbās b. Mirdās as-Sulamī annahu a'tāhu Madfuwwan fa-man ḥāqqahu fa-lā ḥaqqa lahu. Wa-kataba al-'Alā' b. 'Uqba wa-shahida*. Ibn Kathir records the text of the document itself: *bi-'smi 'llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīm. Ḥādha mā a'tā an-nabiyyu Muḥammad 'Abbās b. Mirdās as-Sulamī, a'tāhu Madmūran fa-man khāfahu(!) fihā fa-lā ḥaqqa lahu wa-ḥaqquhu ḥaqq. Wa-kataba al-'Alā' b. 'Uqba wa-shahida*. I. Tūlūn, *I'lām as-sā'ilīna*, p. 148, has the same text (the editor changed 'Abbās into al-'Abbās), with the name Madhmūr. Cf. Ḥamidullah, *Wathā'iq*, nos. 207, 210, pp. 306, 307 (*innahu a'tāhu Madhmūran* etc.).

4 *Qaṭā'i'*, no. 7, pp. 659–62.

5 Jāsir, *Qaṭā'i'*, no. 3, pp. 180–3.

6 I. Sa'd, I, p. 285: *qālū: wa-kataba rasūlu 'llāhi ṣ. li-Salama b. Mālik as-Sulamī: ḥādha mā a'tā rasūlu 'llāhi ṣ. Salama b. Mālik as-Sulamī, a'tāhu mā bayna Dhāt al-Ḥanāzī ilā Dhāt al-Asāwid, lā yuḥāqquhu fihā aḥadun. Shahida 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib wa-Ḥaṭīb b. Abī Balta'a*. Slightly different is the version of *Usd al-ghāba*, II, p. 339: *ḥādha mā aqṭa'a [...] aqṭa'ahu mā bayna l-Ḥabāṭi ilā Dhāti l-Asāwid fa-man ḥāqqahu fa-huwa mubṭil wa-ḥaqquhu ḥaqq*. Cf. Ḥamidullah, *Wathā'iq*, no. 207, p. 306. The *isnād* of this document goes back to 'Ammār b. Yāsir and the entry is quoted from the dictionaries of Abū Nu'aym and Ibn Manda. The fuller *isnād* in the *Iṣāba*, III, p. 153, no. 3396 (with a partial text of the document) makes it clear that the *ḥadīth* including the text was preserved by the family of 'Ammār.

7 Ibn Manda, as quoted by Jāsir, has: *wa-a'tā rasūlu 'llāhi ṣ. Salama b. Mālik as-Sulamī Ḥādha, mā bayna Dhāt al-Ḥanāzīl ilā Dhāt al-Asāwid, wa-qila: al-Ḥunnāṭi*.

“Madfū” as being the property of Salama and ‘Abbās, respectively, and a third, to Salama, about another piece of land. The appearance of the same place in letters to two different persons is problematic; also, Salama is almost unknown, and the entries on him (in the *Iṣāba* and *Usd al-ghāba*) tell us nothing except that he received this letter. Had the compilers of the dictionaries known of another grant of land to Salama, they would have included it in the entry. The only source that records the “Madfū” letter of Salama is Ibn Sa’d. As we have already pointed out, the two “Madfū” letters appear in Ibn Sa’d in succession; *perhaps the ‘Abbās letter was duplicated by a scribe’s error.*

Having quoted the “Madfū” letter of Salama from Ibn Sa’d, Jāsir remarks that Ibn Ḥajar<sup>8</sup> has a report on this grant. But it seems that the report of Ibn Ḥajar, presumably quoted from Ibn Manda, relates to the Ḥādhā letter, not the “Madfū” letter.<sup>9</sup> Ibn Ḥajar quotes from al-Bāwardī,<sup>10</sup> with a family *isnād* going back to ‘Ammār b. Yāsir,<sup>11</sup> a very short quotation from the document.<sup>12</sup> The entry on Salama in the *Usd*

8 In the entry on Salama, III, p. 153, no. 3396.

9 Presumably the whole entry is quoted from the *Kitāb ma’rifat aṣ-ṣahāba* (see *GAS* I, pp. 214–5) of Ibn Manda (Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq, d. 395/1005).

10 Al-Bāwardī should be one of Ibn Manda’s sources and he could have been Abū Muḥammad ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Aqīl al-Bāwardī, who lived in Iṣfahān and died after 420/1029 or after 410/1019–20; see Yāqūt, s.v. Bāward; ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad as-Sam’ānī, *Kitāb al-ansāb*, ed. D. J. Margoliouth, Leiden 1912, s.v. al-Bāwardī.

11 ‘Abdallāh b. Abī ‘Ubayda b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ammār b. Yāsir (his father (his grandfather (‘Ammār b. Yāsir. Cf. above, n. 6 and below, n. 14.

12 *Anna n-nabiyya ṣ. aqṭa’a Salama b. Mālik as-Sulamī wa-kataba lahu: bi-’smi ’llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīm. Ḥādhā mā aqṭa’a Muḥammad rasūlu ’llāhi Salama b. Mālik.* This is followed by Ibn Manda’s statement that it is a *gharīb*, unknown through any other *isnād* (*gharīb, lā na’rifuhu illā min ḥādhā l-wajh*). The text of the Ḥādhā letter in Ibn Sa’d begins with the words: *ḥādhā mā a’ṭā (sic, not aqṭa’a) rasūlu ’llāhi ṣ. Salama b. Mālik* etc. The “Madfū” letter exists in Ibn Sa’d in the form of a report, *annahu a’ṭāhu Madfuwwan* etc.

*al-ghāba*<sup>13</sup> is quoted from Abū Nu‘aym and Ibn Manda. Instead of an *isnād* we have here only ‘Ammār b. Yāsir; however, the text of the letter is complete.<sup>14</sup> Unlike Ibn Manda’s text quoted by Jāsir, this text, also quoted from Ibn Manda, records the text of the letter itself – it does not merely report on its contents. It is similar to the text in Ibn Sa‘d.<sup>15</sup>

In sum, though the *Usd al-ghāba* and the *Iṣāba*, quoting Ibn Manda, refer to the Ḥādha letter, the name Ḥādha appears only in the text quoted by Jāsir from the dictionary of Ibn Manda.

*Waqqāṣ and ‘Abdallah, sons of Qumāma*: The letter to the two brothers from the B. Jāriya, Waqqāṣ and ‘Abdallah sons of Qumāma,<sup>16</sup> appears only in the biographical dictionaries but not in Ibn Sa‘d. The entry on ‘Abdallah b. Qumāma in the *Iṣāba* has an abridged version quoted from Ibn Manda.<sup>17</sup> Other versions of the letter include place-names. The

13 II, p. 339.

14 *Qāla ‘Ammār inna n-nabiyya ṣ. aqṭa’a Salama b. Mālik as-Sulamī wa-kataba lahu: bi-’smi ‘llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīm: hādhā mā aqṭa’a Muḥammad rasūlu ‘llāhi Salama b. Mālik, aqṭa’ahu mā bayna l-Ḥ. bāṭi ilā Dhāti l-Asāwid fa-man ḥāqqahu fa-huwa mubṭil wa-ḥāqquhu ḥāqq.*

15 Significantly, it deviates from it in the concluding formula. Ibn Sa‘d has: *lā yuḥāqquhu fihā aḥadun; Usd al-ghāba: fa-man ḥāqqahu fa-huwa mubṭilun wa-ḥāqquhu ḥāqq.* See also Tha‘lab, *Majālis*, p. 435: [...] *wa-man ḥāqqahu fa-huwa mubṭil wa-ḥāqquhu ḥāqq.*

16 See Jāsir, *Qaṭā’i*, no. 6, pp. 511–3; Aḥmadi, *Makātib*, pp. 452–3.

17 IV, pp. 210–1, no. 4897: ‘Atiq b. Ya‘qūb < ‘Abd al-Malik b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ‘Amr b. Ḥazm < his father < his grandfather < ‘Amr b. Ḥazm: *anna n-nabiyya ṣ. kataba li-Waqqāṣ wa-‘Abdillah ‘bnay Qumāma: bi-’smi ‘llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīm. Hādhā mā a’ṭā Muḥammad an-nabi ṣ. Waqqāṣ b. Qumāma wa-‘Abdallah b. Qumāma as-Sulamīyyayni min B. Ḥāritha* (read: Jāriya). Cf. Ḥamidullah, *Wathā’iq*, no. 209, pp. 306–7. Ibn Ḥajar has an entry on Waqqāṣ b. Qumāma too, VI, p. 612, no. 9144 (Abū Mūsā says that he was mentioned in the *ḥadīth* of ‘Amr b. Ḥazm; this refers, of course, to this letter). The *Usd al-ghāba*, s.v. Waqqāṣ b. Qumāma, V, p. 89, quotes Abū Mūsā as well. See on Abū Mūsā al-Madīni, the author of *Dhayl asmā’ aṣ-ṣaḥāba li-Ibn Manda*, al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-‘arīfba*, Istanbul 1951–5, II, p. 100–1. There was no unanimity over the name

version recorded by Ibn Ṭulūn<sup>18</sup> is reminiscent of other letters to Sulaym in two ways.<sup>19</sup> Like the aforementioned Ḥādhā letter, there is mention of the locality followed by its exact boundaries. A third abridged version (with al-Muḥdath as the name of the locality and different names for the boundaries too) appears in Ibn Manda, who is quoted by Jāsir.<sup>20</sup>

Landau-Tasseron has already noticed the connection between this letter and a report on the tribal delegations to the Prophet which mentions that Waqqāṣ b. Qumāma headed a delegation of Sulaym.<sup>21</sup>

Qumāma: some called him Qudāma (and cf. Ḥ.māma in I. Ṭulūn). In the entry on 'Abdallah, Ibn Ḥajar remarks that Abū Nu'aym records it with the same *isnād* but calls him 'Abdallah b. Qudāma; *Usd al-ghāba* quotes his entry on 'Abdallah b. Qumāma from Ibn Manda, but not from Abū Nu'aym. He refers to Abū 'Umar (Ibn 'Abd al-Barr) and Abū Nu'aym, who write: 'Abdallah b. Qudāma. See *Usd al-ghāba*, s.v. 'Abdallah b. Qudāma, III, p. 243; *Istī'āb*, III, p. 920, nos. 1554, 1555; see also the entries for 'Abdallah b. as-Sa'dī in *Usd al-ghāba*, III, p. 175; *Iṣāba*, IV, pp. 113–4, no. 4721. In the entry on 'Abdallah b. Qumāma, Ibn Ḥajar rightly observes that 'Abdallah b. Qumāma from Sulaym cannot be identical with 'Abdallah b. Qudāma from 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy (but cf. above, Ch. VI, n. 82). As we shall see, the name Qumāma, besides being the less-common name, is confirmed by an independent report on the advent of Waqqāṣ b. Qumāma to the Prophet.

18 *I'lām as-sā'ilina*, pp. 153–4; cf. Ḥamidullah, *Wathā'iq*, no. 209, pp. 306–7, based on ad-Daybuli (see *op. cit.*, p. 656; I. Ṭulūn, *op. cit.*, p. 143).

19 I. Ṭulūn, *loc. cit.*: *bi-'smi 'llāhi r-rahmāni r-rahīm. Hādhā mā a'tā Muḥammad an-nabī rasūlu 'llāhi ṣ. Q.m.āṣ b. Ḥ.māma wa-'Abdallah b. Ḥ.māma ash-Shāmiyyayni(!) thumma banī Ḥāritha, a'tāhumu(!) l-M.ḥdab wa-huwa mā bayna l-Hadd ilā l-Wābida in kānā ṣādiqayni.*

20 *Wa-a'tā Waqqāṣ wa-'Abdallah 'bnay Qumāma al-Muḥdath, wa-huwa mā bayna Ublā ilā r-Rāshida.* The *isnād* of this letter provides a link with the activity of 'Amr b. Ḥazm in collecting and preserving the letters of the Prophet; this has already been observed by Jāsir, who refers to the introduction of his forthcoming book on the B. Sulaym.

21 *Ridda*, p. 237=Ya'qūbi, *Ta'rikh*, II, p. 79: *wa-qadimat 'alayhi wufūdu l-'arab, wa-li-kulli qabila ra'is yataqaddamuhum [...] wa-Sulaym, wa-ra'isuhum Waqqāṣ b. Qumāma.* The wording and the fact that Ya'qūbi mentions only one Sulamī delegation imply that the delegation headed by Waqqāṣ represented not only his tribal group, but other groups as

*The localities:* Ibn Manda has instead of Madfū – Madfūrān.<sup>22</sup> The *rā'* is attested to in the variants Madhmūr and Madmūr in other sources.<sup>23</sup> Jāsir identifies this place with Madhfūrā' which is mentioned in verses of Ādam b. 'Amr<sup>24</sup> b. 'Abd al-'Azīz who, arriving at Rayy, longed to go back to Arabia. In order to locate Madhfūrā' Jāsir studies other more readily identifiable place-names mentioned in these verses: al-Aḥzam, read: al-Akhram, is a mountain in the land of Sulaym near the land of Rabī'a b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a;<sup>25</sup> Dhāt Aknāf is, he says, Dhāt Aḥbāb. Jāsir concludes that Madhfūrā' was close to Ḥādha which was given by the Prophet to Salama b. Mālik. Salama received Madhfūrā' as well;<sup>26</sup> this is corroborated by the fact that Waqqāṣ and his brother, to whom al-Muḥdath<sup>27</sup> was given, were, like 'Abbās and Salama, from the B. Jāriya.

It seems that Madhfūrā' was a pastureland of the Jāriya in the vicinity of Ṣufayna (see map).<sup>28</sup> Also the Ḥādha and al-Muḥdath letters seem to relate to pasturelands; al-Muḥdath was also a *ḥimā* of Sharīd.

well. The relation between this delegation and the one which came to the Prophet prior to the conquest of Mecca (Appendix D) is not clear. The dictionaries mention a Qabiṣa b. Waqqāṣ who lived in Baṣra (one source says: in Medina, which could relate to a different period); see *Iṣāba*, V, pp. 412–3, no. 7068; *Usd al-ghāba*, IV, p. 193; I. Sa'd, VII, p. 56; *Istī'āb*, III, p. 1273, no. 2102. As his exact tribal group is not reported, it is not clear whether or not he is the son of our Waqqāṣ.

22 Text: *wa-a'ṭā rasūlu 'llāhi ṣ. 'Abbās b. Mirdās as-Sulamī Madfūrān, wa-kataba l-'Alā' b. 'Uqba.*

23 See above, n. 3.

24 *Sic* in both editions of Yāqūt, s.v. Burthum; Jāsir has: 'Umar; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq (Tahdhib)*, II, pp. 361–4, has an entry on Ādam b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān, who could have been the nephew of our Ādam. See also Munajjid, *Mu'jam B. Umayya*, pp. 1–3.

25 Yāqūt, s.v. al-Akhram. On Rabī'a b. 'Āmir see above, Ch. I, n. 151.

26 But cf. above my reservations about the "Madfū" letter to Salama.

27 See Appendix C.

28 As we shall see, Dhāt Aḥbāb (see Appendix C, n. 52) was a *ḥimā* of the Sharīd. Burthum

Concerning al-Muḥdath there is a difficulty: it was also granted by the Prophet to ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr.<sup>29</sup> Jāsir<sup>30</sup> suggests that Waqqāṣ (and his brother) shared the place with ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān; he adds that the grant to ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān is corroborated by the fact that his descendants were there in the third century A.H. However, there may be another possibility: Perhaps ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān received the village al-Muḥdath<sup>31</sup> while Waqqāṣ and his brother owned the pastureland outside the village. Indeed the wording of the local informant Abū Ishāq al-Bakrī in the *Manāsik* makes it clear that *the village* al-Muḥdath was granted to ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān.<sup>32</sup>

In sum, the B. Jāriya, who were the descendants of one great-grandfather, had four letters, one of which was possibly “created” by a scribe’s error. At least two of the recipients were the grandsons of Abū ‘Āmir b. Jāriya. The Jāriya family was very prominent in the *ayyām* and was found to have had links with both Mecca and Medina.<sup>33</sup>

## *The Imru’u l-Qays branch*

### *The B. ‘Uṣayya*

*Mu‘āwiya b. al-Ḥakam*: A member of the Sharīd family, Mu‘āwiya b.

is located near Bayḍān, which is mentioned in the letter to Mu‘āwiya b. al-Ḥakam ash-Sharīdī; see Appendix C, n. 45.

29 See Appendix C, n. 54.

30 *Qaṭā’i*, no. 6, p. 511.

31 Cf. Muqaddasi’s definition of the nearby Ḥādhā, p. 80, l. 1: *Ḥādhā madīna maliḥa li-l-Bakriyyīna* (i.e., the descendants of Abū Bakr), *bihā ‘idda minā l-ḥuṣūn wa-jāmi’ kabīr*. One of the MSS. adds: *wa-hiya qaryat Abi Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddīq (r)*.

32 On pp. 335–6 he defines al-Atm: *wa-hiya thalāth qurayyāt fī thalātati awdiya yuqālu li-awwalihā al-Muḥdath, wa-hiya qaṭī’a minā n-nabī ṣ. li-‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr*.

33 Another grant to a member of the Ḥārith branch, namely Rāshid b. ‘Abd Rabbihi, was discussed above, Ch. II, n. 24.



al-Ḥakam, received a letter from the Prophet which is discussed below.<sup>34</sup>

*Hawdha b. Nubaysha*: The identification of Hawdha b. Nubaysha, the other recipient of a letter from the B. 'Uṣayya, is problematic.<sup>35</sup> Jāsir refers to the entries on Hawdha b. al-Ḥārith in the dictionaries<sup>36</sup> and also mentions Nubaysha b. Ḥabīb b. Ri'āb b. Rawāḥa b. Mulayl b. 'Uṣayya, who killed the Kinānī warrior Rabī'a b. Mukaddam.<sup>37</sup> He does not suggest an identification. Be that as it may, he concludes, the recipient is a Sulamī, and not all the companions have entries in our books.

Hawdha b. Nubaysha is possibly identical to a tribal leader from 'Uṣayya called Hawdha b. al-Ḥārith (Nubaysha being a nickname) b. 'Ujra, who is the only person from a subdivision of the B. 'Uṣayya called the B. 'Abdallah b. Yaqaḥa<sup>38</sup> mentioned by Ibn al-Kalbī.

As for al-Jafr, Jāsir could not find a specific statement concerning the name, whether it is written with a *jīm* or a *ḥā'*; the Ibn Sa'd edition, he says, has many corruptions and Ibn Manda has *ḥawālījiz* (instead of *ḥawā l-Jafr* – L.). Jāsir rejects the suggestion by the author of the *Makātīb ar-rasūl*<sup>39</sup> to identify it with al-Jafr in Ḍariyya. The Jafr of Ḍariyya, Jāsir says, is in the land of the B. Kilāb b. 'Āmir; it was dug by a Qurashī and named after him.<sup>40</sup> Jāsir refers to two places called Jafr, both mentioned

34 See Jāsir, *Qaṭā'i'*, no. 3, pp. 177–8 (without mention of his exact Sulamī affiliation); Appendix C.

35 I. Sa'd, I, p. 273; Wellhausen, *Skizzen* IV, no. 34. Text: *Wa-kataba rasūlu 'llāhi ṣ. li-Hawdha b. Nubaysha as-Sulamī thumma min B. 'Uṣayya annahu a'ṭāhu mā ḥawā l-Jafru kullahu*. Cf. Ḥamidullah, *Wathā'iq*, no. 211, p. 309.

36 *Qaṭā'i'*, no. 3, pp. 179–80; see *Iṣāba*, VI, p. 561, no. 9017 and pp. 577–8, no. 9063; *Usd al-ghāba*, V, p. 74.

37 See above, Ch. VII, n. 35.

38 See above, Ch. III, n. 22.

39 Aḥmadi, *Makātīb*, pp. 451–2.

40 Ṣaghānī, *Takmila*, s.v. *j.f.r.* mentions al-Jafr, *mawḍi' bi-nāḥiyati Ḍariyya*; see also *Tāj al-'arūs*, s.v. *j.f.r.* Jāsir seems to refer to the Qurashī who, in the time of the caliph Maḥdī,

by Hajarī: Jafr al-Qahb, southwest of *himā* ar-Rabadha and Jafr al-Habā'a in the *himā* ar-Rabadha, to the south of ar-Rabadha itself. The latter is said to have been "on the edge of the land of Sulaym".<sup>41</sup> However, Jāsir remarks that the *manāzil* of the B. 'Uṣayya are to the west of this place and far from it, near Ublā, as can be seen from the battle of Bi'r Ma'ūna. He suggests amending "al-Jafr" to "Ḥafar, which is from the *manāzil* of the B. 'Uṣayya". He refers to Hajarī's words on the *yawm Laslasān*<sup>42</sup> and to Samhūdī. Jāsir locates the place west of the *ḥarrat* Kishb, near longitude 41°15', latitude 22°50'.

Perhaps there is a somewhat better alternative. There is no support for the change from Jafr to Ḥafar; even the obviously garbled text in Ibn Manda has a *jīm*, not a *ḥā'*. Indeed, the B. 'Uṣayya were found not only near Ublā but also in different places in the land of Sulaym.<sup>43</sup> There are good reasons to prefer the reading al-Jafr and to identify the place with al-Jafr in Ḍariyya, as suggested by al-Aḥmadī. The use of the verb *ḥawā* in the letter of the Prophet seems to indicate that it refers to a water-place, a well etc., not a *wādī* or a village. *Jafr* is a well, or a wide well not encased or surrounded by a wall, or a well, part of which is encased and part not.<sup>44</sup> Al-Aḥmadī produces a solid piece of evidence: the B. 'Uṣayya inhabited the mountain Suwāj in Ḍariyya. Yāqūt says that the B. 'Amīra b. Khufāf used to inhabit Suwāj; then the B. 'Uṣayya b. Khufāf inhabited it.<sup>45</sup> According to 'Arrām, Ḍariyya was the eastern boundary of Sulaym.<sup>46</sup>

had an estate in al-Jafr in Ḍariyya, Yāqūt, s.v. al-Jafr; Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, p. 427. He used to go there so often that he was called al-Jafrī.

41 *Bi-nāḥiyat arḍ B. Sulaym*, Hajarī, pp. 242–4.

42 Pp. 122, 361–2.

43 I could not find evidence in Hajarī that the Ḥafar (perhaps: Ḥafr?) west of Kishb belonged to the 'Uṣayya.

44 See Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.v.; *Lisān al-'arab*, s.v.: *al-bi'ru l-wāsi'a 'llatī lam tuṭwa, wa-qīla hiya 'llatī tuwiya ba'duhā wa-lam yuṭwa ba'd.*

45 S.v. Suwāj: *jabal kānat tanziluhu B. 'Amīra b. Khufāf b. Imri'i l-Qays b. Buhtha b. Sulaym b. Manṣūr, thumma nazalathu B. 'Uṣayya b. Khufāf.* Cf. on Suwāj above, Ch. I, n. 154.

46 See Appendix B, n. 14.

Unfortunately, this record is not dated.<sup>47</sup> Presumably, al-Jafr was not far from Suwāj to the west of Ḍariyya.<sup>48</sup>

### *The B. Ri'l*

Valuable material about the organization of the B. Ri'l can be culled from the letters of the Prophet.

'*Abbās b. Anas*: The letter of 'Abbās b. Anas relates to ad-Dafina<sup>49</sup> and two other places. According to the report of the *Manāsik*, the delegation of the B. Sulaym came to the Prophet and asked to be granted ad-Dathīna (=ad-Dafina). They had a well there. They asked the Prophet to give them something by which they would be blessed. The Prophet gave them a small vessel made of skin on which<sup>50</sup> he had spat. They dropped it into their well which subsequently provided the sweetest water and was a source of much blessing.<sup>51</sup>

Other reports name a Sulamī leader who came to the Prophet. Some sources mention 'Abbās b. Mirdās: he came to the Prophet and asked his permission to dig a well<sup>52</sup> in ad-Dathīna. The Prophet acquiesced on the

47 On a marriage link between 'Amira and the 'Abdallah b. Yaqāza subdivision of 'Uṣayya see I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 158a; Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1188b. A woman from 'Amira was the wife of Riyāḥ b. Yaqāza and the mother of his two sons 'Amr, nicknamed ash-Sharid, and Ruwayba, I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 158b; Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1188b.

48 Locating al-Jafr near Suwāj creates a succession of three places along the Baṣra-Mecca road concerning which there are letters of the Prophet; see above, Ch. I, n. 155.

49 Jāsir, *Qaṭā'i*, no. 3, pp. 183–91.

50 Cf. above, Ch. II, n. 29.

51 *Manāsik*, p. 600, quoted in Jāsir, *loc. cit.*, pp. 183–4: *ad-Dathīna li-B. Sulaym, kāna wafduhum qadimū* (the *dāl* is erroneously printed as *waw*) '*alā rasūli 'llāhi ṣ. fa-'staqṭa'ūhu iyyāhā fa-aqṭa'ahum, wa-lahum fihā bi'r, fa-sa'alūhu an yuzawwidahum shay'an yatabarrakūna bihi, fa-a'tāhum jibāya qad tafala 'alayhā, fa-jā'ū bihā fa-alqawhā fī bi'rīhim, fa-hiya min a'dhab miyāhi n-nās wa-a'ḏamihā barakatan.*

52 *Rakiyya*, also: a well containing water, or a well not made neat or not constructed with bricks; see Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.v.

condition that 'Abbās would be entitled only to what would be left over by the wayfarers.<sup>53</sup> Jāsir quotes the same text from the *Manāsik*.<sup>54</sup> The chain of transmitters in the *Manāsik* is: Mālik b. Muṭarrif b. al-'Abbās b. Mirdās (his father (his grandfather al-'Abbās. On the basis of the Ibn 'Asākir report and other reports quoted below, we may amend Mālik into Nā'il.

Jāsir correctly suggests that the words "b. Mirdās" were added by one of the transmitters and are incorrect.<sup>55</sup> He refers to the evidence linking the B. Ri'l to ad-Dafina and explains that 'Abbās b. Mirdās was not from Ri'l. He rules out the possibility that ad-Dafina was owned jointly by different Sulamī clans: the Prophet granted 'Abbās another place, far from

53 I. 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, the volume beginning with 'Ubāda b. Awfā, pp. 232–3. The *isnād* reaches Aṣma'i (Nā'il b. Muṭarrif b. 'Abbās b. Mirdās (his father (his grandfather 'Abbās: *annahu atā n-nabiyya ṣ. fa-ṭalaba ilayhi an yuḥṣirahu rakiyyatan bi-d-Dathina. Fa-aḥfarahu iyyāhā 'alā annahu laysa lahu minhā illā faḍlu 'bni s-sabil*. Cf. the letter of the Prophet to Su'ayr b. al-'Addā' b. Khālīd al-Bakkā'i that relates to the nearby az-Zujayj: *innī qad aḥfartuka az-Zujayj wa-ja'altu laka faḍla banī s-sabil*; see I. Sa'd, I, p. 282; *Iṣāba*, III, pp. 120–1 (he was surely not a Furay'i; however, the sources differ over the pedigree of his father: some say he was a Bakkā'i while others say he was from the 'Amr b. Rabi'a, the brothers of Bakkā' b. 'Āmir; see I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 281; *Manāsik*, p. 599). Cf. the permission given by Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik to the governor of ḥimā Ḍariyya to dig a well there: *wa-aḥfarahu Sulaymān ḥafīratan*, Bakri, III, p. 868. A tribesman who came to 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz asked his permission to dig a well (*isqinī, saqāka 'llāhu*), and 'Umar instructed his governor in Baṣra: *fa-idhā atāka fa-aḥfirhu*, I. Zanjawayh, I, 656–7.

54 *Qaṭā'i'*, no. 3, p. 186; *Manāsik*, p. 60: with *birka* instead of *rakiyya*; but *rakiyya* is better and is supported by the parallels. Other changes are insignificant: *fa-ṭalaba minhu* instead of *fa-ṭalaba ilayhi*; ad-Dafina instead of ad-Dathina and *'alā an* instead of *'alā annahu*.

55 Cf. Ḥamidullah, *Wathā'iq*, no. 210a, p. 308, who quotes from Ibn Qānī, *Mu'jam aṣ-ṣaḥāba* (d. 351/962, *GAS*, I, pp. 188–9): *al-'Abbās b. Mirdās as-Sulamī shakhaṣa ilā rasūli 'llāhi ṣ. fa-'staqṭa'ahu rakiyyatan bi-r-R.q.b.ya fa-aqṭa'ahu iyyāhā 'alā annahu laysa lahu minhā illā mā faḍala mini 'bni s-sabil*.

ad-Dafīna. Indeed Ibn Sa'd says, in the entry on "al-'Abbās as-Sulamī", probably to avoid confusion, that he was *not* b. Mirdās. Ibn Sa'd gives the following chain of transmitters: Abū l-Azhar Muḥammad b. Jamīl < Nā'il b. Muṭarrif b. al-'Abbās, from the B. Sulaym, more precisely from the B. Ri'l < his father < his grandfather al-'Abbās.<sup>56</sup> The Ibn Sa'd report includes important information about the preservation of the letter. Between the grandson Nā'il and Ibn Sa'd himself there was Abū l-Azhar Muḥammad b. Jamīl, who said: "This Nā'il was living in ad-Dathīna. He was their *amīr*. He produced to me a casket in which there was a shank of red hide. In it there was (a letter stating) what the Prophet had granted him".<sup>57</sup> Abū l-Azhar obviously met Nā'il in ad-Dathīna.<sup>58</sup> The term *amīr* indicates that the recipient's family kept its position in ad-Dathīna well into the Islamic period.<sup>59</sup>

The confirmation that 'Abbās was not 'Abbās b. Mirdās but a Ri'lī does not remove all the difficulties concerning the recipient's name. Jāsir concludes that the recipient is Anas b. 'Abbās b. Anas ar-Ri'lī; he supports

56 I. Sa'd, VII, p. 76. The text that follows is: *annahu shakhaṣa ilā rasūli 'llāhi ṣ. fa-'staqṭa'ahu rakiyyatan bi-d-Dathīna wa-aqṭa'ahā iyyāhu 'alā an laysa lahu minhā illā faḍlu 'bni s-sabil*.

57 *Wa-kāna Nā'il hādhā nāzilan bi-d-Dathīna, wa-kāna amīrahum, fa-akhraja ilayya huqqatan fihā kurā' min adam aḥmar, fa-kāna fihi mā aqṭa'ahu*.

58 I could not find an entry on either Muḥammad or Nā'il; obviously they were insignificant as *ḥadīth* transmitters. See also *Majma' az-zawā'id*, V, p. 336: *rawāhu Abū Ya'lā wa-fihi man lam a'rīshum*.

59 Cf. the title *ṣāḥib ad-Dathīna/ad-Dafīna* that appears at least twice: 1. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Ma'qil as-Sulamī *ṣāḥib ad-Dafīna*, Jāsir, *Qaṭā'i'*, no. 3, p. 183=*Isti'āb*, II, p. 853, no. 1460 and *Iṣāba*, IV, p. 362, no. 5211. The full text of the tradition referred to in the above dictionaries is found in the *Usd al-ghāba*, III, p. 324 (not surprisingly, this nomad questioned the Prophet about the permissibility of eating the meat of hyenas, lizards, hares, foxes and wolves). I could not find further information on the pedigree of 'Abd ar-Raḥmān. 2. Hibbān *ṣāḥib ad-Dathīna*, Jāsir, *Qaṭā'i'*, no. 3, p. 183=I. Mākūlā, II, p. 308, l. 1 and I. Ḥajar, *Tabṣīr*, I, p. 277 (printed: *ṣāḥib ad-Dathaniyya*!). Presumably he too was a Sulamī.

it by referring to Bakrī and others who say that ad-Dafina is the *dār* of Anas b. ‘Abbās. In what follows, the evidence on the recipient is scrutinized.

While Ibn Sa’d mentions ‘Abbās ar-Ri’lī as the recipient, Ibn Manda<sup>60</sup> says that the recipient is Razīn b. Anas.<sup>61</sup> Razīn b. Anas instead of ‘Abbās is also found in the chains of transmitters of the report. Ibn Sa’d says: [...] Nā’il b. Muṭarrif b. al-‘Abbās < his father [=Muṭarrif] < his grandfather [=‘Abbās], while the *Iṣāba*<sup>62</sup> has: [...] Nā’il b. Muṭarrif b. Razīn b. Anas < his father [=Muṭarrif] < his grandfather [=Razīn b. Anas]. Razīn b. Anas is the recipient in another report. Its source is Nā’il b. Muṭarrif b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Jaz’<sup>63</sup> b. Anas as-Sulamī; Nā’il said that he had seen his father and his grandfather, who had a letter from the Prophet. He claimed that the letter is with them “today”, and that the Prophet had written it to Razīn b. Anas, the paternal uncle of his grandfather.<sup>64</sup> The above *isnād* mentions that Nā’il b. al-Muṭarrif was the grandson of ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān, not of ‘Abbās or Razīn. Perhaps this pedigree, in which he was not a direct descendant of the recipient of the letter, is more trustworthy.<sup>65</sup>

60 Jāsir, *Qaṭā’i’*, no. 3, p. 184.

61 *Majma’ az-zawā’id*, loc. cit. says erroneously Zirr b. Anas. Ḥamidullah, *Wathā’iq*, p. 308, erroneously vocalises Ruzayn.

62 S.v. Razīn b. Anas b. ‘Āmir, II, p. 483, no. 2653.

63 “b. Razīn” in the *Iṣāba*, I, p. 477, no. 1144, is an error. Muṭarrif is mentioned in the entry on his paternal uncle Ḥibbān b. Jaz’, *Tahdhīb at-tahdhīb*, II, 171, no. 310.

64 *Usd al-ghāba*, s.v. Jaz’ b. Anas, I, p. 281, quoting the dictionary of Abū Mūsā (see above, n. 17). Only the beginning of the document is recorded: *hādihā l-kitāb min Muḥammad rasūli ‘llāhi s. li-Razīn b. Anas*. Abū Mūsā remarks that the letter was given to Razīn and there is no mention of Jaz’ in it (i.e., the letter does not establish that Jaz’ was a companion).

65 Clearly we are concerned with nomads: a *ḥadīth* reported from the same Jaz’ (his name appears also as Jurayy and Jazī) b. Anas deals with the eating of the lizard, the fox and the creeping insects, *Usd al-ghāba*, I, p. 282, l. 17; *Iṣāba*, I, pp. 477–8; *Istī‘āb*, I, p. 273, nos. 356, 357. Cf. above, n. 59. This person is no doubt identical to Jazī (vocalisation uncertain) Abū Khuzayma as-Sulamī (the version al-Aslamī is an error), about whom there

As we saw before, the sources differ about the recipient of the letter: he was either Razīn b. Anas b. 'Āmir<sup>66</sup> or 'Abbās b. Anas b. 'Āmir.<sup>67</sup> Razīn could have been 'Abbās' brother. But perhaps it is more likely that Razīn was 'Abbās' nickname; unfortunately, no support for either possibility could be found. One thing is certain: as we shall see, *the recipient was from the leading family of the B. Ri'l* which played a prominent role both before and in the early days of Islam.

Concerning Razīn b. Anas b. 'Āmir, Ibn Ḥajar refers to Sayf, *Futūḥ*, who mentions him as a commander in the conquest of Iraq and refers to his participation in the conquest of Damascus. In addition, Ibn Ḥajar refers to Ibn 'Asākir who mentions him among the warriors at Yarmūk. Ibn 'Asākir has an entry for Anas b. 'Abbās b. 'Āmir b. Ḥuyayy b. Ri'l etc. (Razīn's cousin). He was in the reinforcements from those who had participated in the battle of Yarmūk sent by 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to Qādisiyya. Anas b. 'Abbās was in charge of the rear-guard of the reinforcements.<sup>68</sup> This is exactly what Ibn Ḥajar quotes from Sayf concerning Anas b. 'Abbās<sup>69</sup> and presumably, Sayf is the source of the report found in Ibn 'Asākir.

One generation earlier, we encounter Anas' father 'Abbās, who was

is a report, with an *isnād* going back to Ḥuṣayn b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān, from the people of ad-Dafina (Ḥibbān b. Jazī) his father. The dictionaries (*Iṣāba*, I, p. 480, no. 1153; *Uṣd al-ghāba*, I, p. 282; *Istī'āb*, I, p. 273, no. 357; on Ḥibbān see *Tahdhib at-tahdhib*, II, pp. 171, no. 310) provide only glimpses of a long report, *Istī'āb*: [...] *aslama wa-kasāhu rasūlu 'llāhi ṣ. burdayni, fī ḥadīth fīhi ṭūl*. He brought to the Prophet a captive, a companion of the Prophet, who was with him. They (i.e., the Sulamis) had captured him when they had still been pagans; they then embraced Islam and brought the captive to the Prophet. The Prophet told Jazī to go to 'Ā'isha and receive two streaky cloth garments from her.

66 *Iṣāba*, II, p. 483.

67 *Iṣāba*, III, p. 629.

68 *Dimashq (Tahdhib)*, III, pp. 137–8 (*wa-'alā s-sāqa Anas b. 'Abbās*).

69 *Dhakara Sayf fī l-Futūḥ annahu kāna amiran 'alā sāqati khayli l-'Irāq idh ṣarafahum ilayhā Abū 'Ubayda ba'da faṭḥi Dimashq bi-amr 'Umar, fa-shahida l-Qādisiyya*.

Razīn's paternal uncle. 'Abbās b. 'Āmir, nicknamed al-Aṣamm, was killed (shortly) before the Islamic period in a battle against Khath'am.<sup>70</sup> His daughter, Fākhita bint 'Abbās b. 'Āmir b. Ḥuyayy b. Ri'l, was the mother of Ṭu'ayma b. 'Adī from the Qurashī B. Nawfal b. 'Abd Manāf who was killed at Badr.<sup>71</sup> 'Abbās al-Aṣamm was partially deaf and those who surrounded him had to raise their voices.<sup>72</sup> 'Abbās b. Ḥuyayy al-Aṣamm ar-Ri'li was the commander of the Sulamī forces in one of the Fijār battles in which they fought with the Hawāzin against Quraysh; he and others from the B. Sulaym were killed at that time.<sup>73</sup> He could be the paternal uncle of 'Abbās b. 'Āmir b. Ḥuyayy. But the fact that he was nicknamed al-Aṣamm seems to indicate that 'Abbās (b. 'Āmir) b. Ḥuyayy is the one intended and that this is a variant version on the circumstances of his death.

We return now to the time of the Prophet. According to one of the versions quoted before, the recipient was 'Abbās b. Anas b. 'Āmir. In 5 A.H., 'Abbās b. Anas b. 'Āmir, who had been a partner of the Prophet's father 'Abdallah, together with his tribe took part in the siege of Medina.

70 See Bakrī, s.v. Bisha, I, p. 293, with verses by his daughter Rayṭa mourning his death. He was described as strong, or courageous, in battle (*shadīd al-ba's*), *Aghānī*, XVI, p. 57, l. 6. On his kingship see Appendix A.

71 Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, p. 198; the same pedigree of 'Abbās appears in Marzubānī, *Mu'jam*, p. 263, who calls him also (after his mother) 'Abbās b. Rayṭa.

72 See the colourful picture of the warriors of Sulaym in the *Aghānī*, XIII, p. 141, l. 20: *wa-ra'aytu rajulan laysa yabrahū wasaṭahum, idhā nādawhu rafa'ū aṣwātahum*. Incidentally, it seems that the deaf or partially deaf made excellent warriors. On a warrior called 'Āmir al-Aṣamm who was the commander of the vanguard of Shabīb al-Khārījī, see I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 271. In the conquest of Madā'in, we find in the front line two Aṣamms: Aṣamm B. Wallād and Aṣamm at-Taym, who were among the first to cross the Tigris on horseback, Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, IV, p. 9. Cf., perhaps, *Lisān al-'arab*, s.v. *ṣ.m.m.*, p. 345, right column: *wa-yuqālu: ḍarabahu ḍarba l-aṣammi, idhā tāba'a ḍ-ḍarba wa-bālagha fihi, wa-dhālika anna l-aṣamma idhā bālagha yazunnu annahu muqāṣṣir fa-lā yuqlī'u*.

73 See above, Ch. I, n. 133; Landau-Tasseron, *Ridda*, p. 215=I. Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, pp. 204, 208.



He is said to have embraced Islam after the war “with the B. Sulaym”.<sup>74</sup> In 4 A.H., Anas b. ‘Abbās incited the Sulamīs to attack the Muslims at Bi’r Ma’ūna. Anas b. ‘Abbās could be a corruption of ‘Abbās b. Anas. But he seems identical to ‘Abbās’ son Anas b. ‘Abbās, whose involvement in the Islamic conquests was mentioned before. He was a paternal cousin of ‘Abbās b. Anas b. ‘Āmir.<sup>75</sup>

Supposing that ‘Abbās b. Anas b. ‘Āmir and Razīn b. Anas b. ‘Āmir are different persons, the former is more likely to be the recipient of the Prophet’s letter. He had fought against him, it is true, but he had also been his father’s partner. The recipient undoubtedly belonged to the leading family of the B. Ri’l. It was also found that the letter was preserved by the recipient’s family.

A few points of interest may be added. The report on the letter in the *Istī‘āb*<sup>76</sup> says that Razīn came to the Prophet and said: “O Messenger of God, we have a well in Medina (!, read: in ad-Dafīna) and we fear that those who are around us will claim it for themselves”. So the Messenger of God wrote a letter for him: “In the name of God, The Merciful, The Compassionate. From Muḥammad the Messenger of God. They are recognized as the owners of their well, if he is truthful, and they are recognized as the owners of their *dār*, if he is truthful”.<sup>77</sup> The *Istī‘āb* report

74 *Iṣāba*, III, p. 630.

75 Cf. Jāsir, *Qaṭā’i*, no. 3, p. 185.

76 The *isnād* reaches Nā’il b. Muṭarrif b. Razīn as-Sulamī (his father (his grandfather, Razīn.

77 *Istī‘āb*, II, p. 506, no. 796: [...] *inna lanā bi’ran bi-l-Madīna(!) wa-qad khifnā an yaghlibanā ‘alayhā man ḥawālaynā. Fa-kataba lahu rasūlu ‘llāhi ṣ. kitāban: bi-’smi ‘llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīm. Min Muḥammad rasūli ‘llāhi. Ammā ba’dū, fa-inna lahum bi’rahum, in kāna ṣādiqan, wa-lahum dāruhum, in kāna ṣādiqan. See also Majma’ az-zawā’id*, VI, p. 9, l. 9, quoting aṭ-Ṭabarānī: *wa-‘an Razīn b. Anas qāla: lammā zahara l-islām wa-lanā bi’r bi-d-Danīna(!) khifnā an yaghlibanā ‘alayhā man ḥawlanā. Qāla: fa-ataytu n-nabiyya ṣ. fa-dhakartu dhālika lahu. Qāla: fa-kataba lanā kitāban: min Muḥammad rasūli ‘llāhi. Ammā ba’dū, fa-inna lahum bi’rahum in kāna ṣādiqan. Qāla: fa-ma qādaynā fihi ilā aḥad min quḍāti l-Madīna illā qadaw lanā bihi. This is followed by the mention of a peculiarity*

significantly includes direct speech (which seems to indicate an original unedited form of the report) as well as the text of the letter itself.

It is obvious that the well had been owned by the recipients before they came to the Prophet.<sup>78</sup> Here and elsewhere it is better not to speak of “grants” from the Prophet unless they are explicitly said to be grants. Usually we find the Prophet recognizing existing rights. It is indicated that the Prophet relied on information given by the recipient of the letter.

Whereas the Ibn Sa’d report may create the impression that ‘Abbās claimed and received the letter for himself, the *Isti’āb* report makes it clear that he acted as the leader and representative of a tribal group.<sup>79</sup>

found in the letter: *wa-fi kitābi n-nabī ṣ. kāna k.w.n., wa-za’ama annahu kitābu n-nabī*, i.e., the verb *kāna* is written *k.w.n.*, with a *waw*. It is added that the *isnād* includes Fahd b. ‘Awf Abū Rabi’a, who is a liar. Cf. *Majma’ az-zawā’id*, V, p. 336; I. Hajar, *Maṭālib*, no. 1999, II, p. 181; Ḥamidullah, *Wathā’iq*, no. 210a, p. 308.

78 *Isāba*, s.v. Razīn b. Anas, II, p. 483, no. 2653, who quotes from three sources (they presumably had identical versions): Abū Ya’lā (presumably from his *Musnad*, *GAS*, I, pp. 170–1), Ibn as-Sakan (presumably from his lost book *al-Ḥurūf fi ṣ-ṣaḥāba*; see ‘Umari, *Buḥūth*, pp. 64, 70; *Isti’āb*, I, p. 23; the book is not mentioned in *GAS*, I, p. 189) and aṭ-Ṭabarānī (cf. *GAS*, I, pp. 196). It is interesting to note that although this report appears to be a version of the *Isti’āb* report, the *isnād* here is similar to that found in the Ibn Sa’d report; it may be possible, in this case, to pinpoint when the different versions came into being: whereas Ibn Sa’d has Abū l-Azhar between him and Nā’il b. Muṭarrif, the three sources quoted by Ibn Hajar go back to another person called Fahd b. ‘Awf (I could not find an entry for him).

79 Cf. the ruling: he who embraces Islam possessing something is recognized as its owner (*man aslama ‘alā shay’ fa-huwa lahu*), e.g. A. ‘Ubayd, *Amwāl*, p. 260, no. 694. And cf. below, Ch. IX, n. 20. Perhaps “own” is inappropriate, as the water-place, presumably, had to be claimed every year; cf. on clashes at that place Yāqūt, s.vv. ad-Dafina and ad-Dathina. See also Bakri, s.v. ad-Dathaniyya(!), II, p. 543.

Ibn Manda (above, n. 9) mentions Razīn b. Anas and his *‘ashira*. In addition, the following is reported about ‘Abbās ar-Ri’li in Dhahabī, *Tajrid*, I, p. 294, no. 3116: *lahu wifāda, rawā ‘anhu ‘bnuhu Muṭarrif, in ṣaḥḥa*. The same wording, *lahu wifāda*, is used by Ibn ‘Asākir concerning Anas b. ‘Abbās, *Isāba*, I, p. 125, no. 271; Dhahabī, *Tajrid*, I, p. 30, no. 266.

As for the place-names in this letter: one version of this letter<sup>80</sup> mentions, beside ad-Dafina, two other place-names, as-Sitāra and Uthayliyya. Concerning as-Sitāra, Jāsir points out two difficulties: 1. the great distance between *wādī* as-Sitāra, which is in Tihāma, and ad-Dafina, which is in Najd. 2. in the time of the Prophet, those of Sulaym who settled in this *wādī* were confederates of its inhabitants; how could this place be granted to them while it belonged to others? Jāsir concludes that it is not unlikely that the *ḥadīth* of the grant was one of the *ḥadīths* forged in a later period.<sup>81</sup>

As-Sitāra on the western slopes of the *ḥarra* is very appealing because of evidence linking it to Sulaym. Indeed, it was at a considerable distance from ad-Dafina, but we must bear in mind that we are dealing with nomads. While ad-Dafina was in their pasturelands, in the summer they may have camped near large reservoirs of water.<sup>82</sup> As for the ownership, the length of *wādī* as-Sitāra is almost 80 km.<sup>83</sup> and, presumably, it was inhabited by many tribal groups.

Jāsir<sup>84</sup> does not offer a decisive definition for al-Uthayliyya. However, he plausibly suggests that the name is corrupted and that it could be identical to Uthāl, a *wādī* draining into *wādī* as-Sitāra.<sup>85</sup> Indeed, as-Sitāra, into which *wādī* Uthāl drains, is mentioned in the same letter.<sup>86</sup>

80 Above, Ch. I, n. 104; Jāsir, *Qaṭā'i'*, no. 3, p. 190.

81 In this context Jāsir refers to an unfavourable view expressed by Ibn Ḥajar about one of the transmitters; he adds that many of the *ḥadīths* which concern grants are untrustworthy in the eyes of the *ḥadīth* experts. However, it seems that the criteria employed by the experts of *ḥadīth* have nothing to do with the reliability of the reports on the letters of the Prophet.

82 Cf. Appendix C, n. 75.

83 Jāsir, *Qaṭā'i'*, no. 3, p. 190=Bilādi, "Ashhar awdiyati l-Hijāz", no. 5, in *al-'Arab* 8,i(August 1973), p. 10.

84 P. 191.

85 Yāqūt, s.v. Uthāl, p. 90.

86 Cf. Yāqūt, *loc. cit.*: Uthāl is a water-place belonging to the B. Sulaym and others say, to

*Sa'id b. Sufyān*: The letter to Sa'id b. Sufyān ar-Ri'li is discussed by Jāsir in detail.<sup>87</sup> According to Ibn Sa'd, Sa'id b. Sufyān ar-Ri'li was given the dates of Suwāriqiyya (see map) and its castle.<sup>88</sup> Jāsir quotes from Ibn Manda an abridged version of the letter which mentions Suwāriqiyya itself (not its dates) and its castle. The recipient here is Sa'id b. Sufyān ar-Riyāhī,<sup>89</sup> i.e., from Riyāḥ b. Yaqaḥa b. 'Uṣayya b. Imri'i l-Qays.<sup>90</sup>

Ibn Ḥajar says that Ibn Shāhīn<sup>91</sup> mentions Sa'id among the

the B. 'Abs. Some said that it is a mountain. Earlier in the entry Yāqūt adduces evidence concerning a mountain and a fortress, both called Uthāl, in the land of 'Abs.

87 *Qaṭā'i*, no. 5, pp. 358–65.

88 I. Sa'd, I, p. 285; Wellhausen, *Skizzen* IV, no. 63. Text: *wa-kataba rasūlu 'llāhi ṣ. li-Sa'id b. Sufyān ar-Ri'li: hādhā mā a'ṭā rasūlu 'llāhi ṣ. (!) Sa'id b. Sufyān ar-Ri'li: a'ṭāhu nakhla s-Suwāriqiyya wa-qaṣrahā, lā yuḥāqquhu fihā aḥadun, wa-man ḥāqqahu fa-lā ḥaqqa lahu, wa-ḥaqqahu ḥaqq. Wa-kataba Khālīd b. Sa'id. Cf. Ḥamīdullah, Wathā'iq, no. 231, pp. 320–1. Conrad 1981, p. 13, refers in this context to a Geniza document from Fātimid Alexandria which mentions a *qaṣr* in a garden (*mabqala*). Goitein renders it “shack” and Conrad suggests that it was called *qaṣr* “simply because it was a permanent structure, at the very least, a storey chamber with a hut above where the cultivators could spend the night if they so chose”. It seems that the *qaṣr* of Suwāriqiyya was real; cf. the evidence on the fortifications of Suwāriqiyya in Appendix B, n. 20.*

89 *Wa-a'ṭā Sa'id b. Sufyān ar-Riyāhī as-Suwāriqiyya wa-qaṣrahā*.

90 Jāsir does not rule out that Riyāhī is a corruption of Ri'li; elsewhere Ri'li was corrupted to Ru'aynī: in his entry on Sa'id b. Sufyān ar-Ri'li, Ibn Ḥajar (*Iṣāba*, III, pp. 105–6, no. 3266) mentions that some say that he was ar-Ru'aynī. Jāsir remarks that he did not find an entry on this Ri'li in a source other than the *Iṣāba*. Cf. the short entry in Dhahabī, *Tajrīd*, I, p. 222, no. 2319: “Sa'id b. Sufyān ar-Ru'aynī, it is said that the Prophet gave him dates”, (*yuqālu a'ṭāhu an-nabī ṣ. nakhlan*). As his source, Dhahabī mentions Abū Mūsā al-Madīnī (see above, n. 17). This possibly indicates the source of the *nisba* ar-Ru'aynī in the *Iṣāba* as well. The ambiguous reference to dates is significant: “the dates of Suwāriqiyya and its castle” are mentioned in the text of the letter in Ibn Sa'd, whereas the abridged report in Ibn Manda mentions only “Suwāriqiyya and its castle”.

91 Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Aḥmad, *GAS*, I, pp. 209–10.

companions of the Prophet, basing himself on the letter of the Prophet.<sup>92</sup> Elsewhere the *Iṣāba* has yet other versions concerning the identity of the recipient. In s.v. Ḍamra b. Rabī'a as-Sulamī<sup>93</sup> there are two additional versions concerning his name: Ḍamra b. Sa'd, which is the most common version (*wa-huwa l-ashhar*) and Ḍumayra. Faced with conflicting reports on the identity of the recipient, Jāsir seems to imply that the letter is not genuine. He points to the fact that Suwāriqiyya was known as *qaryat Abī Bakr*. In addition, he says, Abū Bakr's family inhabited the areas surrounding it from early times. Therefore it is not unlikely, he suggests, that Abū Bakr asked the Prophet to grant it to him and The Prophet complied, just as he granted the *wādī* of Suwāriqiyya, Suwāriq, to az-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām.<sup>94</sup> Jāsir adds that the B. Ri'l embraced Islam at a late period; therefore it is unlikely that any of them received a grant, unless we can find someone among them who made the *hijra* to Medina. Jāsir's scepticism seems to be unwarranted. The grant to the Sulamī and the presumable grant to Abū Bakr do not necessarily contradict each other, since it is unlikely that Suwāriqiyya was given to one person or one family.

The rich biographical literature provides opportunities for further examination of the identity of the recipient. The *Iṣāba*<sup>95</sup> has an entry on a person called Sa'd (not Sa'id) b. Sufyān with the following pedigree: b. Mālīk b. Ḥabīb b. Mālīk b. Khufāf as-Sulamī. This entry includes only one record: he came to the Prophet as a delegate of his clan.<sup>96</sup> The

92 Ibn Shāhin quotes a report on it *min ṭariq al-Madā'ini* (Abū Ma'shar (Yazid b. Rūmān: *aqī'a an-nabī ṣ. Sa'id b. Abī(!) Sufyān ar-Ri'li wa-kataba lahu bi-dhālīka kitāban, katabahu Khālīd b. Sa'id.*

93 III, p. 490, no. 4190.

94 Cf. Appendix C, n. 69.

95 III, p. 63, no. 3166.

96 *Wafada 'alā rasūli 'llāhi ṣ.* It is quoted from ar-Rushāṭī (d. 542/1147, Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'allifina*, VI, p. 90). As his source ar-Rushāṭī mentions a book called *ash-Shajara al-baghdādiyya fi n-nasab*.

difference between Sa'd and Sa'id is, of course, minor.<sup>97</sup> The pedigree makes him one of the Mālik b. Khufāf, i.e., this is a third version concerning his tribal affiliation within Sulaym. (However, if ar-Riyāḥi mentioned above is a scribal error, this is the second version.) The report on his advent to the Prophet seems to provide the circumstances in which the letter was given.

Other reports mention, in connection with the letter, a man called Ḍamra or Ḍumayra. The dictionaries of companions (the *Iṣāba*, *Istī'āb*, *Usd al-ghāba* and *Tajrīd*) have entries on him, with references to the dictionaries of Ibn Manda, Abū Mūsā al-Madīnī, Ibn as-Sakan and al-Baghawī. According to the *Istī'āb*,<sup>98</sup> Ḍumayra b. Sa'd as-Sulamī – and some said: aḍ-Ḍamrī (obviously an error) – was the grandfather of Ziyād b. Sa'id (read: Sa'd) b. Ḍumayra; his (Ḍumayra's) *ḥadīth* was transmitted by the people of Medina and he was one of them (*makhraj ḥadīthihi 'an ahli l-Madīna wa-idāduhu fihim*). His son, Sa'd b. Ḍumayra, transmitted from him, e.g., the *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. az-Zubayr < Ziyād b. Sa'd b. Ḍumayra < his father < his grandfather, on the Muḥallim b. Jaththāma affair that took place during the battle of Ḥunayn. The *Usd al-ghāba* is of course right in stating that Ḍumayra b. Sa'd is identical with Ḍamra b. Sa'd. The variant Ḍumayra appears in other sources too. The *Usd al-ghāba*, s.v. Ḍamra b. Sa'd,<sup>99</sup> quotes the entries on this man from the dictionaries of Ibn Manda and Abū Nu'aym. They appear to have been identical, since only in the concluding sentence is a difference between them mentioned: Abū Nu'aym adds that some said: Ḍumayra. The *Iṣāba* adduces the Ḍumayra-version as well, either from Abū Nu'aym or from the *Istī'āb*.

Ḍamra/Ḍumayra is linked with two reports, both originally included in the *Maghāzī* of Ibn Ishāq. One, which relates to the Muḥallim b. Jaththāma affair, bears evidence on the role of Ḍamra and his father Sa'd

97 As we shall see, there are indications that Sa'd, not Sa'id, was the correct name.

98 The entry is found in vol. IV, p. 2087; see also *Usd al-ghāba*, III, p. 47; *Tajrīd*, I, p. 274, no. 2884.

99 III, p. 44.

in the time of the Prophet. The other report is on *a letter* given by the Prophet to Ḍamra. On the basis of these two reports the dictionaries unanimously agree that Ḍamra and his father Sa'd were companions of the Prophet. The *Iṣāba* has: Ḍamra b. Rabī'a,<sup>100</sup> and some say: b. Sa'd, which is the most common version (*wa-huwa l-ashhar*), and some say: Ḍumayra, in the diminutive form. The *Iṣāba* goes on to say that Bukhārī and Ibn as-Sakan reported that he had been a companion. Ibn Manda states that both he *and his father* were companions. Bukhārī<sup>101</sup> has an entry on Ḍumayra b. Sa'id, "and some said Ḍumayra aḍ-Ḍamrī"(!). The entry includes only traces of *ḥadīths* which can, however, be unmistakably linked to the battle of Ḥunayn. The *isnāds* provided here all go back to Muḥammad b. Ja'far, i.e., Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. az-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām.<sup>102</sup>

In one chain of transmitters quoted by Bukhārī, Muḥammad says that Ziyād b. Ḍumayra reported to 'Urwa (i.e., 'Urwa b. az-Zubayr, who was Muḥammad's uncle) on the authority of his father, "that Muḥallim b. Jaththāma..." The full version of the *ḥadīth*<sup>103</sup> says that Ziyād b. Ḍamra b. Sa'd told the story on the authority of his father *and his grandfather*, both of whom took part in the battle of Ḥunayn.<sup>104</sup>

100 I could not find this version in any other source.

101 *Ta'rikh*, IV, pp. 341–2, no. 3060.

102 *Tahdhib at-tahdhib*, IX, p. 93, no. 124. He is said here to have transmitted, among others, from Ziyād b. Sa'd b. Ḍamra (some say, Ziyād b. Ḍamra). Muḥammad died between 110–120/728–738.

103 Aḥmad, V, p. 112, l. 21.

104 See also Wāqidi, III, pp. 919–21, esp. 920–1: *wa-kāna Ḍamra* (i.e., Ziyād's father) *as-Sulamī yuḥaddithu, wa-kāna qad ḥaḍara dhālika l-yawma* etc.; *Iṣāba*, s.v. Mukaytil, VI, p. 209, no. 8205, quoting the *Maghāzī* of Ibn Ishāq. (The preposition 'an in the expression *yuḥaddithu 'an 'Urwa* is superfluous: Ziyād told 'Urwa, not vice versa.) Here as well Ḍumayra quotes his father and his grandfather, both of whom participated in Ḥunayn. The reports on a companion called Sa'd b. Ḍamra/Ḍumayra seem to be erroneous; the correct name is Ḍamra/Ḍumayra b. Sa'd. See e.g. the *Istī'āb*, s.v. Sa'd b. Ḍumayra aḍ-Ḍamrī(!), II, p. 593, no. 942: he was a companion and was mentioned in the report

So far we have a letter of the Prophet to Sa'īd b. Sufyān ar-Ri'li which relates to the dates of Suwāriqiyya and its castle; a Sa'd b. Sufyān from the B. Mālik b. Khufāf who came to the Prophet as a delegate; and a Ḍamra b. Sa'd and his father Sa'd who both participated in the battle of Ḥunayn. Nowhere does the pedigree of Ḍamra b. Sa'd go further back, although one can *guess* the identity of Sa'd's father. A step forward is made possible by a report on a grant of the Prophet to Ḍamra: the *Maghāzī* of Ibn Ishāq<sup>105</sup> has the following family *isnād*: al-Ḥakam b. al-Ḥārith b. Maḥmūd b. Sufyān b. Ḍamra b. Sa'd < his grandfather Maḥmūd < his (Maḥmūd's) father Sufyān < Ḍamra b. Sa'd. The report is: the Prophet granted him (i.e., Ḍamra b. Sa'd) Suwāriqiyya in the beginning of his *hijra*; [it was an estate] called *dār Ḍamra*.<sup>106</sup> The report seems to indicate that Ḍamra received part of Suwāriqiyya, namely the *dār* that was called (after him) *dār Ḍamra*. This took place shortly after his (plausibly: Ḍamra's) *hijra*.

*Ḍamra's father Sa'd was none other than Sa'd b. Sufyān.* In the first section of Khalifa's *Ṭabaqāt*, which lists the companions of the Prophet who lived in Medina according to their tribes, there is also mention<sup>107</sup> of

on Muḥallim b. Jaththāma; his status and his father's status as companions are confirmed (read *abihi* instead of *ibnihi*); see also Dhahabī, *Tajrīd*, I, p. 215, no. 2242. The *Iṣāba*, III, p. 64, no. 3170, has an entry on a person called Sa'd b. Ḍumayra b. Sa'd b. Sufyān b. Mālik b. Ḥabīb b. Zighb (printed: Zi'b) etc. Some said: al-Aslamī, and others said ad-Ḍamrī; a Ḥijāzī, participated in the battle of Ḥunayn. As his source Ibn Ḥajar refers to Ibn Qānī' (above, n. 55; 'Umārī, *Buḥūth*, p. 68). Sa'd b. Ḍumayra b. Sa'd seems to be a contamination of Ḍumayra b. Sa'd (the correct name) and Sa'd b. Ḍumayra (a corruption).

105 In the *Iṣāba*, III, p. 490.

106 *Anna n-nabī š. aqta'ahu s-Suwāriqiyya bidāyata hijratihī 'llatī yuqālu lahā dār Ḍamra.* The report is concluded with the words: *wa-qāla (Ibn Ishāq?): gharīb*. The wording of the report is not smooth, as already noticed by Jāsir. He remarks: *kadhā warada l-khabar*. (Incidentally, Jāsir quotes: [...] *ad-dāru 'llatī yuqālu lahā dār Ḍamra*.)

107 On p. 50.



Sa'īd b. Sufyān b. Mālīk b. Ḥabīb b. Zighb b. Mālīk b. Khufāf b. Imrī'i l-Qays and *his son* Ḍamayra b. Sa'īd. The pedigree shows them to be from the B. Zighb b. Mālīk b. Khufāf.<sup>108</sup> It is similar, but not identical, to the pedigree of one called Sa'd b. Sufyān who came to the Prophet as a delegate. The difference in the exact Sulamī affiliation of Sa'īd/Sa'd b. Sufyān should not mislead us: the same person is intended. He came to the Prophet as a delegate of his clan and received a letter from the Prophet. He was the father of Ḍamra; Ḍamra is reported to have received the letter himself. The specifications of the land granted differ from one report to another. However, it is evident that only part of Suwāriqiyya is involved.

In sum, the Suwāriqiyya letter, unlike the Dafina letter, relates to cultivated land and a castle. The sum of these letters of the B. Ri'l (?) suggests that some of them were pastoralists while others cultivated the land, or they had flocks as well as dates, leading pastoral lives and tilling the soil in different seasons. Considering the evidence on Suwāriqiyya adduced in Appendix B, we believe the former alternative is more plausible. Indeed, the leading family of Ri'l, to whom the recipient of the Dafina letter belonged, was significantly engaged in fighting; but we do not have even one record about fighting involving Sa'd b. Sufyān or any other member of his family.

108 See on them above, Ch. III, n. 33.

## IX

# Sulaym and Quḍā'a

We discussed battles against Quḍā'a in the Yemen and on the road there in Ch. I. Sulaym had a special relationship with Quḍā'a. In the land of Sulaym there were tribal groups from Quḍā'a. The letters of the Prophet include some datable evidence on the links between these tribes.

### *The B. Ju'ayl from Balī*

There were two letters given to Sulamīs of unknown origin.

*"Ḥarām b. 'Abd 'Awf as-Sulamī":*

And the Messenger of God wrote to Ḥarām b. 'Abd 'Awf from B. Sulaym a letter granting him Idhām and what belonged to him from Shawāq. No one is entitled to act towards them unjustly and they are not allowed to act unjustly towards anyone.

The identification of the recipient and the locality named in the letter is problematic.<sup>1</sup> Jāsir<sup>2</sup> could find no companion of the Prophet called

1 I. Sa'd, I, p. 274; Wellhausen, *Skizzen* IV, no. 34: *wa-kataba rasūlu 'llāhi ṣ. li-Ḥarām b. 'Abd 'Awf min B. Sulaym, annahu a'īahu Idhāman wa-mā kāna lahu min Shawāq, lā yaḥillu li-aḥad an yazlumahum wa-lā yazlumūna aḥadan. Wa-kataba Khālid b. Sa'id. Cf. Ḥamīdullah, Wathā'iq, no. 214, p. 310.*

2 *Qaṭā'i'*, no. 2, pp. 86–90.

Ḥarām b. ‘Awf or Ḥizām b. ‘Awf. He vocalises the second place-name: Shuwāq, and quotes another text (from Ibn Manda<sup>3</sup>) in which the recipient is called Ḥarām b. ‘Awf (without “‘Abd”), followed by the gloss: “that is, his descendants”; the *lahu* becomes here *lahum*.<sup>4</sup>

Jāsir notes the shift in Ibn Sa’d from the singular to the plural. He refers to the suggestion of Aḥmadī<sup>5</sup> that Ḥarām b. ‘Abd ‘Awf was the name of a clan from Sulaym, Ḥarām b. Simāk<sup>6</sup> b. ‘Awf b. Imri’i l-Qays. Jāsir concludes by saying that the absence of any mention of a companion of the Prophet named Ḥarām b. ‘Awf as-Sulamī and Ibn Manda’s gloss lead to the conclusion that the B. Ḥarām are intended here.

It is true that there is no mention of a man called Ḥarām b. ‘Awf as-Sulamī; but there was a companion of the Prophet called Ḥarām b. ‘Awf al-Balawī. While the omission of “‘Abd” (as in Ibn Manda) is common in similar names, the *nisba* al-Balawī, which makes him a member of the Quḍā’i tribe Balī, calls for explanation. This companion participated in the conquest of Egypt.<sup>7</sup> Ḥarām seems to be a corruption, the correct name being Ḥizām. Under Ḥizām, a more precise definition of his tribal affinity within Balī can be found: the entry on Ḥizām says that he was one of the Prophet’s companions that settled in Egypt. Ḥizām was from the B. Ju‘al, that are sometimes called Ju‘ayl. His only contact with the Prophet took place at Ḥudaybiyya: together with a group from his tribe, he was one of those who swore allegiance to the Prophet “under the tree”, i.e., at Ḥudaybiyya.<sup>8</sup> The letter of Ḥizām should be linked with the following letter.

3 Cf. above, Ch. VIII, n. 9

4 *Wa-a’lā Ḥarām b. ‘Awf – ya’nī wa-‘llāhu a’lamu banihi – ‘.dāman wa-mā kāna lahum min S.wāq. Wa-kataba Khālīd b. Sa’īd.*

5 *Makātīb*, p. 447.

6 Cf. above, Ch. III, n. 96 (the correct name is Sammāl).

7 *Uṣd al-ghāba*, I, p. 394; Dhahabī, *Tajrid*, I, p. 125, no. 1294; I. Mākūlā, II, p. 411, l. 10, quoting Ibn Yūnus.

8 *Iṣāba*, II, p. 60, no. 1697. The entry is quoted from Ibn Faṭḥūn, d. 520/1126 (see Kaḥḥāla,

"*Al-Ajabb*" as-Sulamī: The letter to "al-Ajabb" of Sulaym deals with a grant of land too.<sup>9</sup> Jāsir quotes a text from Ibn Manda in which the name is Lāhib, not al-Ajabb.<sup>10</sup> Jāsir suggests (rightly, I presume) that Lāhib was the correct name.<sup>11</sup> He remarks that while Ibn Sa'd calls him as-Sulamī, Yāqūt says that Qālis (not Fālis) was granted by the Prophet to the B. al-Aḥabb (*sic*) from 'Udhra. This is followed by the text of the letter.<sup>12</sup> Jāsir suggests that the recipient is not a Sulamī. He adds that in the printed edition of Ibn Sa'd there are many errors; the gloss *rajul min B. Sulaym* is unlikely to be considered part of the text, unless there is some lacuna.

There are a few points of resemblance between the two letters. In both the names are glossed by Ibn Sa'd in a similar way: the recipient's name is followed in the former case by the words: *rajul min B. Sulaym* and in the latter by: *min B. Sulaym*. No such gloss exists in letters to other Sulamīs; presumably the recipients were unknown to him. The same is true for Ibn Manda's gloss in the former case<sup>13</sup> and Yāqūt's statement in

*Mu'allifina*, IX, pp. 284–5) who, in his turn, quotes Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh b. ar-Rabī' al-Jizī.

- 9 I. Sa'd, I, pp. 273–4; Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, IV, no. 34: *wa-kataba rasūlu 'llāhi ṣ. li-l-Ajabb, rajul min B. Sulaym, annahu a'tāhu Fālisān. Wa-kataba l-Arqam*. Cf. Ḥamidullah, *Wathā'iq*, no. 212, p. 309, who quotes from al-Ḥāzimī, *al-Amākin* the text of the document itself, going back to 'Amr b. Ḥazm: *bi-'smi 'llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīm. Hādhā mā a'tā rasūlu 'llāhi B. al-Ajabb, a'tāhum Qālisān. Wa-kataba l-Arqam*. Cf. below, n. 12.
- 10 *Qatā'i*, no. 6, pp. 509–10: *wa-a'tā l-Lāhib Fālisān. Wa-kataba l-Arqam*.
- 11 Incidentally, the name al-Aḥabb is not nonexistent; see I. Kalbi/Farrāj, I, pp. 247–8=fol. 28a: al-Aḥabb b. Taym b. Murra and al-Aḥabb b. Sa'd b. Taym b. Murra. On al-Aḥabb among the B. 'Amir b. Lu'ayy, see I. Kalbi/Farrāj, I, pp. 399, 470; among the B. al-Adram, I. Kalbi/Farrāj, I, p. 420; among the B. Muḥārib b. Fihri, I. Kalbi/Farrāj, I, p. 474.
- 12 Yāqūt, s.v. Qālis: *Qālis mawḍi' aqṭa'ahu n-nabiyyu ṣ. B. al-Aḥabb min 'Udhra. Qāla 'Amr b. Ḥazm: wa-kataba lahum rasūlu 'llāhi ṣ. bi-dhālika kitāban, nuskhatuhu: bi-'smi 'llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīm. Hādhā mā a'tā Muḥammad rasūlu 'llāhi B. l-Aḥabb, a'tāhum Qālisān. Wa-kataba l-Arqam*. I. Ṭulūn, *I'lām as-sā'ilina*, p. 145, has B. al-Ajabb; Ḥālis.
- 13 Above, n. 4.

the latter:<sup>14</sup> the two persons were unknown to them and so they assumed that the documents were given to groups. The confusion over the correct form of the name, also common to the two documents, points in the same direction. Finally, and most importantly, while both letters say the recipients are “from Sulaym” (in both cases they are the only sources to do so), the two recipients can be traced back to the B. Ju‘al (or Ju‘ayl) clan from Balī, more precisely, the B. Şakhr from Ju‘al.<sup>15</sup> The *Işāba*<sup>16</sup> gives the following perigree: Lāhib b. Mālīk b. Sa‘dallah from the B. Ju‘ayl, more precisely, from the B. Şakhr. Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, the *Işāba* adds, mentions him among the companions who settled in Egypt; he (Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam) reports, on the authority of Sa‘īd b. ‘Ufayr,<sup>17</sup> that he gave the Prophet an oath of allegiance etc. (see below). The *Işāba* also quotes Ibn Yūnus’ saying that Lāhib b. Mālīk al-Balawī was a companion who participated in the conquest of Egypt.

At Ḥudaybiyya, the Prophet reportedly gave the B. Şakhr a new name. According to the report found in the entry on Ḥizām, the Prophet said to them, “There are no Şakhr and no Ju‘al, you are the B. ‘Abdallah”. The more detailed version found in the entry on Lāhib says that when Lāhib with a group from his tribe came to the Prophet in order to give him an oath of allegiance (i.e., at Ḥudaybiyya), they mentioned in their genealogy Ju‘al and Şakhr. But the Prophet said, “There are no Şakhr and no Ju‘al, you are the B. ‘Abdallah”.<sup>18</sup>

14 Above, n. 12.

15 A possible variant in the former case is: ‘Udhra, as in Yāqūt. ‘Udhra were, like Balī, part of Qudā’a.

16 V, p. 671, no. 7538.

17 Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam quotes him often in his *Futūḥ miṣr*, see its Index.

18 *Uṣd al-ghāba*, IV, p. 259; Dhahabī, *Tajrīd*, II, p. 37, no. 397, both quoting Ibn Manda, who in his turn quotes Ibn Yūnus. The text in the *Işāba*, loc. cit., is: *wa-naqala ‘an Sa‘īd b. ‘Ufayr annahu bāya’a rasūla ‘llāhi ṣ. fī ‘işāba min qawmihi fa-ntasabū ilā Ju‘al wa-Şakhr. Fa-qāla: lā Şakhra wa-lā Ju‘āla, antum B. ‘Abdallah*. On the changing of names by the Prophet see Kister 1975.

*The B. Ju'ayl and the B. 'Abd Manāf*

The identity of this 'Abdallah is elucidated by another letter of the Prophet:

And the Messenger of God wrote to the B. Ju'ayl from Balī, that they are a group from Quraysh, more precisely from the B. 'Abd Manāf, having the same rights and the same duties as the B. 'Abd Manāf. They will be exempt from military expeditions and from paying the *ṣadaqa*. They are recognized as the owners of the properties held by them when they embraced Islam. They have the right to collect taxes from the B. Naṣr, the B. Sa'd b. Bakr, the B. Thumāla and the B. Hudhayl.

Four individuals from the B. Ju'al are mentioned as representatives and guarantors.<sup>19</sup> The witnesses were 'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān and Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb. Concerning the witnesses, it is reported that they were from the B. 'Abd Manāf because (as stated in the letter) the B. Ju'al were their confederates.<sup>20</sup>

Interestingly, the Prophet acts on behalf of the B. 'Abd Manāf, confirming,

19 'Āṣim b. Abi Ṣayfī, 'Amr b. Abi Ṣayfī, al-A'jam b. Sufyān and 'Alī b. Sa'd.

20 I. Sa'd, I, pp. 270–1; Wellhausen, *Skizzen* IV, no. 28: *wa-kataba rasūlu 'llāhi ṣ. li-B. Ju'ayl min Balī, annahum raḥī min Quraysh, thumma min B. 'Abd Manāf, lahum mithlu 'lladhi lahum wa-'alayhim mithlu 'lladhi 'alayhim, wa-annahum lā yuḥsharūna wa-lā yu'sharūna, wa-anna lahum mā aslamū 'alayhi min amwālihī, wa-anna lahum si'āyata Naṣr wa-Sa'd b. Bakr wa-Thumāla wa-Hudhayl. Wa-bāya'a rasūla 'llāhi ṣ. 'alā dhālika [...]. Cf. Ḥamidullah, *Wathā'iq*, no. 48, pp. 134–5. Wellhausen renders *la yuḥsharūna*: "Sie brauchen ihre Herden nicht zusammenzutreiben (zum behuf der Steuer)". He follows the explanation of this expression in Ibn Sa'd who says that they were not to be gathered from one water-place to another for the payment of the *ṣadaqa*. Kister 1979a, pp. 10–11, quotes D.H. Baneth's interpretation of *lā yuḥsharūna*: they will be exempted from fighting in the *jihād*.*

as we shall see, an existing link between the B. Ju'al and the B. 'Abd Manāf. The B. 'Abdallah were none other than the B. 'Abd Manāf: the Prophet renamed the B. 'Abd Manāf, B. 'Abdallah.<sup>21</sup> It follows that when the Prophet called the B. Ṣakhr from Ju'ayl, B. 'Abdallah, he was stating that they were part of the B. 'Abd Manāf. This is also seen in the letter. In sum, there are three letters related to the B. Ju'al, two given to individuals and one given to a group.

All the evidence adduced before refers to Ḥizām and Lāhib as Balawīs while, as aforementioned, the letters of the Prophet refer to them as Sulamīs. The discussion that follows includes no decisive evidence. However, it indicates that some members of Ju'ayl could possibly have been considered to be Sulamīs too.

There is further evidence on the link between Ju'ayl and Quraysh. What follows relates to the B. 'Abd Manāf and, significantly, also to their Sulamī confederates from the B. Dhakwān b. Tha'laba.<sup>22</sup> There was a tribal group called Ju'ayl among the B. Naṣr b. Mu'āwiya from Hawāzin.<sup>23</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī<sup>24</sup> says: 'Amr b. Duhmān b. Naṣr fathered Ju'ayl, whose mother was 'Amra bint 'Awf b. Firās b. Ghanm from the B. Kināna. Ju'ayl fathered Zālim, Zuwaylim and al-Aṣamm, whose mother was the daughter

21 Cf. Kister 1975, p. 5=*Majma' az-zawā'id*, VIII, p. 53, l. 17 (quoting aṭ-Ṭabarānī – instead of *yawm al-jum'a* read: *yawm al-Hudaybiyya*); *Iṣāba*, s.v. Jahm al-Balawī, I, p. 522, no. 1252 (quoting al-Baghawī).

22 On them see above, Ch. VI, n. 5.

23 Presumably, their Hawāzini genealogy can be linked with their collection of taxes from two of the four tribes listed: the Naṣr themselves and the Sa'd b. Bakr (another Hawāzin tribe). Both the Naṣr and the Bakr were among the tribes that worshipped al-'Uzzā at Nakhla, Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, II, fol. 210b; above, Ch. I, n. 218. The Thumāla were from the B. al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b, I. Hazm, *op. cit.*, p. 377 and Bakrī, II, p. 531. The Naṣr, Sa'd, Thumāla and the fourth tribe, Hudhayl, inhabited the vicinity of Mecca.

24 *Jamh.*, fol. 151a–152a. Incidentally, the B. Mu'āwiya b. Tamim b. Sa'd b. Hudhayl included a few *buṭūn*, among them B. Sahm, B. Qird and B. Ju'ayl, I. Kalbi/Farrāj, I, p. 505. They seem to be unrelated to the group discussed here.

of Murra b. Hilāl b. Fālij from the B. Sulaym.<sup>25</sup> Zālim fathered Ḥamās and they (i.e., his descendants) are in Egypt. Zuwaylim fathered Abū 'Amr, whose mother was Ḥayya, the daughter of 'Abd Manāf b. Quṣayy, "and she brought about the alliance of the B. Zuwaylim with the B. 'Abd Manāf".<sup>26</sup> The foregoing evidence seems to provide the missing link: while Ju'ayl was from Hawāzin, the mother of his children was from Sulaym. It follows that their descendants could claim a Sulamī origin. Presumably, the daughter of Murra b. Hilāl from Sulaym, who was married to Ju'ayl, was "the eldest 'Ātika". At some time she was married to 'Abd Manāf and bore him al-Muṭṭalib, Hāshim, 'Abd Shams and five daughters, among them, Ḥayya.<sup>27</sup> It is plausible that the same 'Ātika was married to Ju'ayl, as her father was a confederate of 'Abd Manāf. At the same time, the Sulamī mother of Ju'ayl's children provides a link with Quraysh. Murra b. Hilāl gave 'Abd Manāf his daughter in marriage and 'Abd Manāf gave Zuwaylim b. Ju'ayl his daughter Ḥayya in marriage. Ḥayya bint 'Abd Manāf is said to have brought about the alliance of the B. Zuwaylim with the B. 'Abd Manāf; however, note that Zuwaylim's mother was already the daughter of a confederate and a father-in-law of 'Abd Manāf. Though the above record speaks only of the descendants of

25 Cf. above, Ch. VI, n. 24.

26 *Wa-hiya 'llatī jarrat ḥilf B. Zuwaylim ilā B. 'Abd Manāf*. Cf. a similar expression on the *ḥilf al-Aḥābiṣh* in Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, p. 15, l. 17. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 118b, in the list of the women from the B. Hāshim who were married to non-Qurashīs (*al-mughtaribāt min banāt Hāshim*), refers to the last-mentioned marriage somewhat differently: Zuwaylim's wife was Ḥubbā (*sic*) bint Hāshim (*sic*) b. 'Abd Manāf and she bore him Abū 'Amr and 'Abdallah. Her mother was 'Ātika bint Hilāl b. Fālij b. Dhakwān from Sulaym. I could not find a Ḥubbā among Hāshim's children; however, he had a daughter called Ḥayya, Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, pp. 16, 17; Balādh., *Ansāb*, p. 87, l. 15 (her mother was from Thaqif). In Balādh., *Ansāb*, I, p. 62, l. 1, Ḥayya is the wife of 'Amr b. Zuwaylim. Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, p. 15, l. 10, reports the same as Ibn al-Kalbī with one change: she bore Zuwaylim his son 'Abd Manāf (who may well have been identical to Abū 'Amr mentioned by Ibn al-Kalbī).

27 I. Sa'd, I, p. 75 (printed: Ḥanna); above, VI, n. 32.



Zuwaylim as confederates of B. 'Abd Manāf, the same could have been true for the rest of Ju'ayl as well.

From those who concluded the agreement with the Prophet on behalf of the Ju'ayl,<sup>28</sup> al-A'jam can be identified. According to Balādhurī, al-A'jam b. Sufyān al-Balawī was appointed by the Prophet to be the tax collector of 'Udhra, Salāmān, Balī and Kalb.<sup>29</sup> As for 'Amr b. Abi Ṣayfi, it should be mentioned that he had a namesake who was a contemporary of the Prophet: 'Amr b. Abi Ṣayfi b. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf.<sup>30</sup> 'Amr b. Abi Ṣayfi is not a common name. Whether or not it is the same man cannot be determined.

The case of the B. Ju'al/Ju'ayl is rather complicated. We cannot be sure that all the available evidence has been adduced here. They seem to have been of Balawī origin. They were incorporated into the genealogical system of Hawāzin. Yet they could claim to be of Sulamī descent, since Ju'al's wife and the mother of his children was from Sulaym.

28 See above, n. 20.

29 Another version in the same source relates to the collection of taxes from Kalb: their tax collector was 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. 'Awf (and not a Kalbī – L.) because none of them was with the Prophet. Later in the same source al-A'jam reappears: the tax collector of Juhayna was Rāfi' b. Makith or, according to another version, Rāfi' and al-A'jam b. Sufyān, Balādh., *Ansāb*, I, pp. 530–1. It is not clear why the dictionaries of companions do not have an entry for al-A'jam. They do have entries for Rāfi' b. Makith (Ḥamīdullah vocalises: Mukayth, and the same vocalisation appears in the *Isti'āb*, II, p. 485, no. 740; I. Sa'd, IV, pp. 345–6).

30 I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 14, links him indirectly to the unsuccessful attempt of Ḥaṭīb b. Abi Balta'a to send a warning to Mecca before the Prophet's expedition against it: 'Amr had emancipated Sāra, who carried Ḥaṭīb's letter. In Wāqidī, II, pp. 825 and 860, "Abū Ṣayfi" was omitted and Sāra is said to be the *mawlāt* of 'Amr b. Hāshim (= 'Amr b. Abi Ṣayfi b. Hāshim). In Wāqidī, I, pp. 39, l. 8 and 43, l. 2 from bottom the name is corrupted. In Bakri. s.v. Khākh, p. 473, Sāra is the *mawlāt* of 'Amr b. Ṣayfi b. Hāshim. Cf. Lecker 1987, p. 35.

### The localities

*Idhām/Idām*: Jāsir does not offer an identification for Idhām, as the name appears in Ibn Sa'd, or Idām, as it is in Ibn Manda. However, he does mention *wādī* Idām south of Mecca which belongs to Hudhayl and Kināna. Jāsir explains that it is in Tihāma, far from the land of Sulaym. He rejects Aḥmadī's proposal<sup>31</sup> to identify it with the place near Mecca. *Wādī* Udām (*sic*; there are a few forms of the same name) near Mecca is a *wādī* in Tihāma (literally: "the *wādī* of Tihāma"). Its upper part belonged to Hudhayl while its lower part belonged to Kināna.<sup>32</sup> What appears to be the upper part of the *wādī* is mentioned in the geographical dictionaries under Adām. They say that it was also called Adhām.<sup>33</sup>

A well near Mecca offers an alternative identification. It was named, possibly by popular etymology, after Adam. Before Zamzam was dug there had been other wells in Mecca, among them Kurr (= "the well of")<sup>34</sup> Ādam on the right hand side of one travelling from Mecca to Minā. Together with the well called Khumm, Kurr Ādam was the source of the water supplied by 'Abd Manāf to the pilgrims.<sup>35</sup>

31 Jāsir, *Qatā'i'*, no. 2, p. 87; Aḥmadī, *Makātib*, p. 447.

32 Yāqūt, s.v. Udām. The same entry in Yāqūt includes a record concerning a well called Bi'r Idām, on the road to Yemen, which belonged to the B. Shu'ba from Kināna. See also Lughda, p. 22 (vocalised Adām).

33 Al-Watīr, which is connected to the events that led to the conquest of Mecca (see e.g. Yāqūt, s.v.), is said to have been "the name of what was between Adām and 'Arafa", Bakri, s.v. Adām, I, p. 126; see also Yāqūt, s.vv. al-Watīr and Adām; Wāqidi, II, p. 783; Lughda, p. 19: al-Watīr is a mountain in the territory of Hudhayl, in which the Kināna, more specifically the B. 'Abd b. 'Adī, have a share (*shirk*).

34 Cf. *Lisān al-'arab*, s.v. *k.r.r.*, pp. 136–7.

35 See Azraqī, I, p. 112: *wa-ammā s-siqāya fa-lam tazal bi-yadi 'Abd Manāf, fa-kāna yasqī l-mā'a min bi'r Kurr Ādam wa-bi'r Khumm 'alā l-ibli fī l-mazād wa-l-qirab, thumma yuskabu dhālika l-mā'u fī ḥiyād min adam fī finā'i l-Ka'ba fa-yariduhu l-ḥājjū ḥattā yatafarraqū. Fa-kāna yusta'dhabu dhālika l-mā'u*. See also *op. cit.*, II, p. 214 (this well was dug by Adam). The text in Azraqī is not smooth: *balaghani anna Ādama 'alayhi s-salāmu*

The evidence adduced here on the B. Ju'ayl points to the vicinity of Mecca: the Naṣrī genealogy, the link with the B. 'Abd Manāf and their Sulamī confederates, the collection of taxes from tribes in the vicinity of Mecca.<sup>36</sup> This makes a place in the vicinity of Mecca very probable. The *wādī* Ādām (vocalisation of the name varies) or the aforementioned well may be suitable. Note that Kurr Ādam is associated with 'Abd Manāf, with whom the B. Ju'ayl were linked.

What follows does not relate to the problem of Idām. It relates to the links between the Ju'ayl and the 'Abd Manāf. Unlike the aforementioned Kurr Ādam, which was outside Mecca on the way to Minā, the well called al-'Ajūl was inside Mecca. Some sources link it to Quṣayy. Quṣayy dug a well which he called al-'Ajūl; it was the first well dug by Quraysh in Mecca.<sup>37</sup> Another source says that no well had been dug in Mecca before Quṣayy dug al-'Ajūl (*lam yuhfar awwalu minhā* [sic]). It was in the *dār* (i.e., what later became the *dār*) of Umm Hānī' in al-Ḥazwara. The link with Ju'ayl is suggested by a third record: this is the well into which

*ḥina uhbiṭa ilā Makka ḥafara bi'ran tusammā Kurr Ādam al-Mafjar (sic) fī Shi'b Ḥawā'; fī or min should be added before al-Mafjar; see I. Ḥabīb, Munammaq, p. 289: bi-Mawḍi' yuqālu lahu l-Mafjar, fīhi bi'r yuqālu lahā Kurr Ādam; Fākihi, fol. 486b: "And it is said, and God knows best, that the first well which was dug in Mecca when Adam was brought down to Mecca was dug by Adam, who called it Kurr Ādam, in shi'b Ḥawā', which is part of al-Mafjar ([...] fī shi'b Ḥawā' mina l-Mafjar). The editor of Azraqī remarks (loc. cit., n. 1) that this form of the name (Ādam) appears in all MSS. He plausibly identifies it with Udām; however, he prefers the first form, Ādam, because of the link with Adam. On al-Mafjar and shi'b Ḥawā' see op. cit., pp. 276–7 (the well was part of the shiqq ma'lāt Makka l-yamānī). As for Khumm, it is said to have been dug by Kilāb b. Murra, op. cit., p. 214.*

36 On the other hand, al-A'jam b. Sufyān is associated with the collection of taxes from Balī, Salāmān, 'Udhra and perhaps Kalb and Juhayna (which of course does not necessarily mean that he lived in the territory of those tribes.)

37 Balādh., *Ansāb*, I, p. 51.

Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf pushed one of the B. Zūwaylim b. [Ju'ayl b.] 'Amr from Naṣr, causing his death.<sup>38</sup>

Al-'Ajūl was located near the Ka'ba: al-Ḥazwara had been the market of Mecca; later it was incorporated into the Ka'ba.<sup>39</sup> The report on al-'Ajūl in Fākihi seems to indicate that this well had earlier foundations: he (i.e., Kilāb b. Murra, who is mentioned in the preceding report in Fākihi) was the first to dig in the Abṭaḥ of Mecca a *siqāya* other than Zamzam for the pilgrims and the other people; and Quṣayy dug his *rakiyya* in its place, in the *dār* of Umm Hāni'.<sup>40</sup> Some reports on al-'Ajūl omit, for obvious reasons, mention of Hāshim and present the death of the Ju'alī as an accident: Quṣayy dug al-'Ajūl which was the first *siqāya* dug in Mecca. It was in use in his lifetime as well as after his death, until 'Abd Manāf b. Quṣayy grew old. Then a man from the B. Ju'ayl fell into it; they neglected al-'Ajūl and it was buried.<sup>41</sup> The chronology remains unchanged even according to the sources that do not record the affair: it happened when 'Abd Manāf grew old (which conforms to the involvement of Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf). As Zūwaylim was married to Hāshim's sister Ḥayya, the dead man was Hāshim's nephew (or his nephew's son).

In sum, the reports on al-'Ajūl corroborate the reports adduced above on the presence of the B. Ju'al in Mecca. They add some plausibility to the suggestion that Idhām/Idām in the Prophet's letter to Ḥizām should be sought in the vicinity of Mecca.

*Shawāq*: Jāsir suggests that the name Shawāq is a corruption of Suwāriq:<sup>42</sup>

38 Azraqī, II, p. 215. On the B. Zūwaylim see above, n. 26.

39 Azraqī, II, pp. 294–5; s.v. al-Ḥazwara in Yāqūt, Bakrī and Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ*.

40 Fākihi, fol. 486b, l. 5 from bottom. Fākihi adduces the report on the pushing of the Naṣrī; however, he says erroneously: Hāshim b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib instead of Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf. On *rakiyya* see above, Ch. VIII, n. 52.

41 Bakrī, s.v. al-'Ajūl, p. 923; Suhaylī, I, p. 172; cf. Yāqūt, s.v. al-'Ajūl. The above records must be related to the report on the purchase of the wells called al-Ajbāb from the B. Naṣr b. Mua'wiya by 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Kister 1972, p. 75=Anonymous, *Nihāyat al-irab fī akhbār al-furs wa-l-'arab*, MS British Museum Add. 23298, fol. 191b.

42 He rightly dismisses the identification suggested by Aḥmadī, *Makātib*, p. 447.

Suwāriq, he says, was also corrupted elsewhere in Ibn Sa'd, as well as in many other sources, to Shawāq. He refers to the letter of az-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām.<sup>43</sup> While Jāsir proves beyond doubt that in the letter of az-Zubayr, Shuwāq (in Ibn Sa'd) is a corruption of Suwāriq, with regard to the Ḥizām letter decisive evidence is still lacking.

Firstly, for the Ḥizām letter we have beside Ibn Sa'd's version also Ibn Manda's, which is basically an abridged variant of the Ibn Sa'd version. The name is almost identical, with a *sīn* instead of a *shīn*. In the letter of az-Zubayr, only Ibn Sa'd has the corrupted form; Ibn Manda (while quoting a completely different version of the letter) has the correct name Suwāriq as a variant.<sup>44</sup> Rather than correcting Shawāq in the Ḥizām letter to Suwāriq of the az-Zubayr letter, it seems that the latter was corrupted in Ibn Sa'd because of Shawāq in the Ḥizām letter (only one letter separates these two letters in Ibn Sa'd).

Secondly, there is a factual discrepancy. Ḥizām was given part of Shawāq while az-Zubayr was given all of Suwāriq: it is specifically said that he was given both the upper part and the lower part of the *wādī*.

Thirdly, if the above identification of Idhām as a place near Mecca is correct, we must look for Shawāq in the vicinity of Mecca. In sum, there seem to be good reasons not to amend the text as suggested by Jāsir.

*Fālis*: Fālis in the Lāhib letter is called Qālis by Yāqūt. He says<sup>45</sup> that Qālis is a place granted by the Prophet to the B. al-Aḥabb from 'Udhra and quotes the text of the letter from 'Amr b. Ḥazm. Both Ibn Sa'd and Ibn Manda have Fālis. As we have already said, the letter was given to an individual called Lāhib. There is a place called Qālis in the territory of the B. 'Udhra.<sup>46</sup> The letter quoted by Yāqūt contradicts the Sulamī *nisba* in Ibn Sa'd and Lāhib's identification as a Balawī. (Note, however, that

43 Jāsir, *Qaṭā'i'*, no. 4, pp. 253–4; Appendix, C, n. 69.

44 Another version found in the *Manāsik*, which is basically an extension of Ibn Sa'd's version, also has: Suwāriq. I. Ṭulūn, *I'lām as-sā'ilina*, p. 153, also has: Suwāriq.

45 Above, n. 12.

46 Qālis on the inland pilgrim route between Ayla and Medina is mentioned in Wuhaybī,

Balī and 'Udhra are both part of Quḍā'a.) On the other hand, it suggests a neat solution: an 'Udhri recipient and a specific place in the land of 'Udhra. Clearly, the evidence is insufficient to allow for a decisive conclusion.

### *Some central settlements*

Medina was a significant meeting-point between Sulaym and Balī. The Arab tribal groups that had inhabited it even before the settlement of the Aws and the Khazraj included Balawī and Sulamī groups.<sup>47</sup> Also Şufayna, the *ma'din* B. Sulaym and perhaps Suwāriqiyya, which were among the most important settlements in the land for Sulaym, were meeting-points of clans from these tribes.

We find marriage links between Sulaym and Quḍā'a on the eponymous level. The evidence relates to both the Imru'u l-Qays and the Ḥārith branches of Sulaym. The mother of the B. Khufāf (from the Imru'u l-Qays) was from Quḍā'a. The wife of Khufāf and the mother of his children 'Uṣayya, 'Amīra, Nāṣira and Mālik was Salmā bint Zayd b. Layth from Quḍā'a.<sup>48</sup> In addition, 'Amīra's wife and the mother of his children was Laylā bint al-Miḍlāt from Juhayna.<sup>49</sup> The wife of al-Ḥārith b. Buhtha and the mother of all his children was ar-Rabāb bint Zayd Allāt (or Zayd Allāh) b. Rufayda b. Thawr b. Kalb b. Wabara.<sup>50</sup> The testimony of these records is corroborated by further evidence.

*Northern Hijāz*, p. 184. Cf., perhaps, the appointment of al-A'jam b. Sufyān, above, n. 36, as the tax collector of 'Udhra (and other tribes).

47 On the Sulamis see above, Ch. V, n. 10 and the sources mentioned there.

48 I. Kalbi, *Jamh.*, 157b-158a; Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1188a.

49 I. Kalbi, *Jamh.*, 158a; Balādh., *Ansāb*, *loc. cit.*

50 I. Kalbi, *Jamh.*, fol. 161a; Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1193a. Cf. on Kalb I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, pp. 455f. Incidentally, Ghāḍira and 'Ātiya, sons of an-Namir b. Wabara "entered into" the B. Sulaym and "said", i.e., claimed concerning their genealogy, that they were Ghāḍira and 'Ātiya, sons of Sulaym b. Maṣṣur, I. 'Abd al-Barr, *Inbāh*, p. 120; I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 454.

*Suwāriqiyya and Şufayna*

Suwāriqiyya was possibly the most important settlement in the land of Sulaym.<sup>51</sup> Şufayna was one of the three important pilgrim stations on the road from the *ma'din* B. Sulaym and from Medina via the eastern edge of the *ḥarra*; the other two were Suwāriqiyya and Ḥādha.<sup>52</sup> Şufayna is said to have belonged to the B. ash-Sharīd, the leading family of the B. 'Uṣayya.<sup>53</sup>

Hamdānī<sup>54</sup> concludes his description of the land of Juhayna, which includes many place-names in different areas, with the words: "And Khaybar, Fadak, *ḥarrat an-nār* and Yayn, to ar-Rabadha, to an-Naqira, to Iran, to Şufayna, to as-Suwāriqiyya, the *qarya* of the B. Sulaym". The list includes Ruhāt as well.<sup>55</sup> Iran,<sup>56</sup> Şufayna and Suwāriqiyya are along the eastern slopes of the *ḥarrat* B. Sulaym, from south to north,<sup>57</sup> while Ruhāt is on the western slopes. This passage is difficult; localities which are known to belong to Sulaym are said to be in the land of Juhayna.

The mention of Şufayna can be corroborated by a piece of evidence from the time of the Prophet. There is a letter of the Prophet given to a group from Juhayna. It recognizes them as the owners of a piece of land in Şufayna which they took and marked for themselves.<sup>58</sup> Ibn Sa'd calls

51 On it see Appendix B. On the letter of Sa'd b. Sufyān see above, Ch. VIII, n. 87.

52 Rāshid, *Zubayda*, pp. 105–7, 133–4.

53 See the commentary to the *Dīwān* of al-Khansā', Beirut 1895, p. 103 (I quote it from Jāsir, because the above edition is not available to me).

54 *Şifa*, pp. 320–1.

55 See Index, s.v.

56 See on it Appendix B, n. 28.

57 Cf. *Manāsik*, p. 339.

58 Wuhaybī, *Northern Hijāz*, pp. 257–8, observes that in the time of the Prophet, Juhayna lived northwest of Medina, not southeast of it. Besides, B. Shamkh [this is one of the versions concerning the name of that group – L.] were regarded as part of the B. Fazāra and lived far from Şufayna. Hamdānī's statement is only acceptable, Wuhaybī suggests,

them B. Shankh,<sup>59</sup> whereas the abridged text of Ibn Manda quoted by Jāsir has Shamkh.<sup>60</sup> Obviously a Juhanī group of agriculturalists inhabited Ṣufayna in the time of the Prophet. On this point Hamdānī's report is confirmed.

A Quḍā'i tribal group seems to have inhabited a village not far from Suwāriqiyya. This would provide some justification for the mention of Suwāriqiyya by Hamdānī; however, this group was not from Juhayna. Following the description of Suwāriqiyya, 'Arrām says: "And they (i.e., its inhabitants) have villages around them, from them a village called al-Qiyyā, the water of which is salty like the water of Suwāriqiyya, at a distance of three parasangs. It has many inhabitants, palm-trees, fields and (other) trees".<sup>61</sup> Immediately after al-Qiyyā, 'Arrām mentions a

insofar as it refers to the pre-Islamic period. I feel that Wuhaybi's scepticism is unjustified, since Hamdānī's words are corroborated by the letter of the Prophet.

59 I, p. 271: *wa-kataba rasūlu 'llāhi ṣ. li-B. Shankh min Juhayna: bi-'smi 'llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥim. Hādhā mā a'tā Muḥammad an-nabī B. Shankh min Juhayna: a'tāhum mā khaṭṭū min Ṣufayna wa-mā ḥarathū, wa-man ḥāqqahum fa-lā ḥaqqa lahu, wa-ḥaqquhum ḥaqq. Kataba al-'Alā' b. 'Uqba wa-shahida.*

60 *Qaṭā'i'*, no. 5, pp. 365–6: *wa-a'tā B. Shamkh mā akhaṭṭū (?) min Ṣufayna wa-mā ḥarathū. I. Tūlūn, I'lām as-sā'ilina*, pp. 147–8, has (I follow the MS.): [...] B. Shamkh, *a'tāhum mā ḥazarū min Du'ayna(!) wa-mā ḥarathū, fa-man akhāfahum(!) fa-innahu lā ḥaqqa lahu wa-ḥaqquhum ḥaqq. Cf. Ḥamidullāh, Wathā'iq*, no. 155, p. 264. Jāsir says that they may have been people not living among their fellow-tribesmen (*min shudhdhādh al-qabā'il*) who were working in the *ma'din*(!) in that period, people like the B. Farān from Balī. Cf. perhaps the B. Shamajā b. Jarm from Quḍā'a, *Lisān al-'arab*, *Tāj al-'arūs* and *Ṣaghānī, Takmila*, s.v. *sh.m.j*. Unfortunately, no evidence could be found concerning the presence of Jarm in the Hijāz.

61 *Wa-lahum quran min ḥawālayhim, minhā qarya yuqālu lahā l-Qiyyā mā'uḥā ma'jun milḥun naḥwa mā'i s-Suwāriqiyya, wa-baynahumā thalāthatu farāsikh. Wa-bihā sukkān kathīr wa-nakhīl wa-mazāri' wa-shajar.* The text of 'Arrām is quoted in both Bakrī and Yāqūt. In Bakrī, s.v. Ublā, p. 100, the crucial *wa-lahum* is missing (*wa-ḥawālayhā quran* etc.). On the other hand, Yāqūt, s.v. Qiyyā (*sic*, without the article) is very clear: *wa-li-ahli s-Suwāriqiyya qarya yuqālu lahā al-Qiyyā* etc. On al-Qiyyā see Appendix C, n. 56. On the



village called al-Malhā', located in wādī Qawrān, which drains from the ḥarra. At this point Bakrī (who is quoting 'Arrām) adds that it was named after a clan from Ḥaydān.<sup>62</sup>

### *The ma'din B. Sulaym*

The most detailed evidence on the relations between Sulaym and Balī (from Quḍā'a) is connected with the *ma'din* B. Sulaym; today it is called *Mahd adh-dhahab*, "the cradle of gold". It is located roughly 250 km. southeast of Medina, on the Kūfa-Mecca pilgrim route. The inland route from Medina also passed through it.<sup>63</sup>

Jāsir<sup>64</sup> discusses in detail the Balawī inhabitants of the *ma'din* B. Sulaym. Most of the mine workers in Arabia, he says, were non-Arabs because the Arabs disdained engaging in the crafts. The non-Arabs included Persians and others. In addition, there were the remainders of the old Arab tribes, such as the B. Farān, that had lost their tribal characteristics. They found it appropriate to claim that they belonged to one of the well-known tribes when someone tried to defame their

hunting of female antelopes in the Ublā mountain by a Kalbi see Bakrī, *Faṣl al-maqāl*, p. 177.

62 S.v. Ublā, p. 100: *summiyat bi-l-Malhā'*, *baṭn min Ḥaydān*. These words are missing in 'Arrām. A Ḥaydān in Quḍā'a is known to the genealogists, but al-Malhā' could not be found among his descendants. No evidence of Ḥaydān in the Ḥijāz could be found. On Ḥaydān b. 'Amr b. al-Ḥāfi b. Quḍā'a, the brother of Bahrā' and Balī, see I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 440; Nuwayri, II, p. 311; I. 'Abd al-Barr, *Inbāh*, p. 122. For a claim, quoted from Ibn al-Kalbī and his father, that Ḥaydān was the son of Ma'add b. 'Adnān (cf. Kister-Plessner 1977), see Balādh., *Ansāb*, I, p. 20, no. 39; I. Sa'd, I, p. 58. There was a mountain called Miḥān in the land of the B. Sulaym in the Ḥijāz – see Yāqūt, s.v. – but it seems to be unrelated to al-Malhā'.

63 Rāshid, *Zubayda*, pp. 98–9, 128–9; K.S. Twitchell, *Saudi Arabia*, 3rd edition, Princeton 1958, pp. 247–8. For a recent survey of the area see Zarins *et al.* 1980, pp. 28–9.

64 *Qaṭā'ī*, no. 1, pp. 5–6.

genealogy.<sup>65</sup> Elsewhere,<sup>66</sup> Jāsir says that the *ma'din* B. Sulaym (*Mahd adh-dhahab*) is in the land of the B. 'Uṣayya; those who worked in it were the B. al-Akhtham b. 'Awf b. 'Uṣayya, known as *al-quyūn* ("the blacksmiths"). They worked in cooperation with the B. Farān. The latter were from the remainder of the Amalekites or from the Balī – who were also known as *al-quyūn*; therefore that *ma'din* was called Farān. It was also called *ma'din* B. ash-Sharīd.<sup>67</sup> Finally, Jāsir refers to a dispute "between the owners of the *ma'din* and its workers" (*bayna aṣḥābi l-ma'din wa-bayna mu'addinihi*) from the B. Fārān (*sic*). Jāsir is somewhat ambiguous about the identity of the groups in the *ma'din* and their role. We shall see that this reflects the state of sometimes obscure sources.

The B. Farrān<sup>68</sup> b. Balī belonged to Quḍā'a. They inhabited the *ma'din* together with another (unspecified) group from Balī,<sup>69</sup> "and they (i.e., Farrān) are the B. al-Akhtham b. 'Awf b. Ḥabīb b. 'Uṣayya b. Khufāf b. Imri'i l-Qays b. Buhtha b. Sulaym". They are (also identical to) the people called *al-quyūn* and they declare (i.e., rightfully) that they originate from Balī. They settled there with people from *al-'āriba al-'ulā*, from the B. Fārān b. 'Amr b. 'Imliq, whom they found there.<sup>70</sup>

65 See below, n. 76. Jāsir adduces solid evidence that mining in the Yemen was carried out by Persians. He concludes that there is no doubt that the mining in the *ma'din* B. Sulaym was carried out by foreigners (*unās min ḡayr ḥādhihi l-bilād*) as was the case in other mines in the territories of tribes which disdained engaging in the crafts.

66 "B. Sulaym", no. 5, pp. 947–950; the context is the question which gold mine was owned by Ḥajjāj b. 'Ilāṭ al-Bahzī.

67 Samh., s.v. al-'Umaq: "A station of the pilgrims between as-Salila and the *ma'din* B. Sharīd".

68 See this form, with a *shadda*, in I. Durayd, *Ishtiqaq*, p. 550. Some of the descendants of Farrān lived in Medina; see *Ishtiqaq*, pp. 550–1. The name Farrān sometimes appears differently in the sources. Ḥāzīmī, *'Ujāla*, p. 100, has: Fārān b. Balī. I. Ḥabīb, *Mukhtalif*, p. 92, has: Farān b. Balī. The form Farrān seems to be correct; their eponym was Farrān b. Balī b. 'Imrān b. al-Ḥāf b. Quḍā'a.

69 The B. Fārān b. 'Amr b. 'Imliq mentioned below?

70 Bakrī, I, pp. 28–9; see also s.v. Fārān, III, p. 1013, with the addition that it is an iron mine. On *al-'āriba al-'ulā* see Bakrī, I, p. 58.

The first to live in the *ma'din* were the Amalekites and an unspecified Balawī group. Then the B. Farrān and the B. 'Uṣayya settled there. A later stage is reflected in the Sulamī, or rather "Sulamized", pedigree of the B. Farrān: B. al-Akhtham b. 'Awf b. Ḥabīb b. 'Uṣayya. The B. Farrān (or rather those of them who settled in the *ma'din*) adopted a Sulamī genealogy by introducing Ḥabīb b. 'Uṣayya in the place of their Balawī ancestors.<sup>71</sup> This means that there were basically two groups: the 'Uṣayya and the Balawī Farrān = *al-quyūn* = B. al-Akhtham (possibly with some less important elements from Balī).

Yāqūt<sup>72</sup> says about the *ma'din* that it was a water-place belonging to the B. Sulaym. It was named *ma'din* Farān (*sic*) and was inhabited by many people. It was called after Farān b. Balī b. 'Amr (read: 'Imrān) b. al-Ḥāf b. Quḍā'a. They (i.e., the B. Farrān – L.) settled with the B. Sulaym, were incorporated into them and became part of them (*fa-dakhalū fihim wa-ṣārū minhū*). They were called the B. al-Qayn.<sup>73</sup> Hamdānī mentions the *ma'din* while describing the land of Balī. As for the *ma'din* Farān (*sic*), he says, it is named after Farān b. Balī b. 'Amr.<sup>74</sup>

A dispute over the ownership of the *ma'din* in the time of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb indicates that the adoption of a Sulamī genealogy had been a recent development. Although the Balawīs had adopted a Sulamī genealogy, they were not totally assimilated into the Sulamī tribal system and could still retain, if they wished, their Balawī genealogy. In the time of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, so the report goes, the ownership of the *ma'din* was disputed between Sulaym and Balī. 'Uqayl b. Fuḍayl from Balī had

71 This supposedly followed a takeover of the *ma'din* by the 'Uṣayya.

72 S.v. Farān.

73 I.e., as if they had an ancestor called al-Qayn; see also the reference in the verse below to Qayn Balī. This could indicate that *al-quyūn* means "the descendants of al-Qayn", not "the blacksmiths". Note, however, the iron mine there; above, n. 70.

74 *Ṣifa*, p. 319. Hamdānī mentions that the mountains of the *ḥaram* (of Mecca) were called the mountains of Farān and that this is how they were referred to in the *Tawrāt*. They were named after Farān b. 'Amr b. 'Imlīq. Cf. Yāqūt, s.v. Farān. Also cf. Lughda, pp. 174, 402–3.

a dispute with the B. ash-Sharīd over *ma'din* Fārān. There are verses which seem to reflect the state of affairs in a concise manner. Khufāf b. 'Umayr (better known as Khufāf b. Nudba) from the B. ash-Sharīd asks a rhetorical question: "When did the two Qayns, the Qayn of Ṭamiyya and the Qayn of Balī, own two mines in Fārān?" Khufāf probably means to say that they never owned them and have no right to them.

The other verse is by 'Uqayl: "I am 'Uqayl and they say that I am from Sulaym, but the more correct genealogy is: Balī". By reciting this verse, 'Uqayl "was allying himself with Balī and stating his Balawī descent".<sup>75</sup> 'Uqayl repudiates, or threatens to repudiate, his clan's genealogical affiliation to Sulaym.<sup>76</sup>

In sum, in the *ma'din* B. Sulaym we encounter a close link between Sulaym and a tribal group from Balī which adopted a Sulamī pedigree but was not totally assimilated into Sulaym. There are conflicting reports concerning the owners of the *ma'din*: while Hamdānī refers to the *ma'din* as part of the land of Balī, others say that it belonged to Sulaym, or, more specifically, to the leading family of 'Uṣayya, the Sharīd. Both statements were well founded in the time of 'Umar and certainly in the time of the Prophet too. The same seems to have been the case for Ṣufayna: it had inhabitants from both Juhayna and Sulaym.

75 *Wa-huwa yataqarrabu* (see Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.v.) *ilā Balī wa-yantasibu ilayhim*.

76 Khufāf: *matā kāna li-l-qaynayni, qayni Ṭamiyyatin wa-qayni Baliyyin, ma'dināni bi-Fārāni?* 'Uqayl: *anā 'Uqaylun wa-yuqālu s-Sulamīyyu wa-aṣṣaḍu n-nisbati annī min Baliyyi*. Ṭamiyya is far from the *ma'din*. It is in the vicinity of Fayḍ/Fā'id and is mentioned in connection with the settlement of the B. Kalb (who, like Bali were from Qudā'a) between ar-Rabadha and Ṭamiyya, Bakrī, I, p. 49; and see Yāqūt, s.v. Ṭamiyya; Bakrī, s.v., III, p. 894–5; Yāqūt, s.v. Mu'taq; *Manāsik*, p. 610; Lughda, pp. 153–4. Of the two *qayns* mentioned by Khufāf, only *qayn* Bali seems to have been linked to our *ma'din*.

# X

## Concluding Remarks

The B. Sulaym had an impressive military potential and were capable of unified action against their enemies. Their military activity at the time of the Prophet, first against Medina and then against Mecca, indicates that they posed a serious military threat. Nevertheless, there is almost no evidence of Sulamī military activity in Mecca and Medina before Islam.

A few stabilizing factors seem to have been at work: 1. There was cooperation, not confrontation, with Mecca and Medina. Members of Sulaym settled in both places; Sulaym traded in both places as well as along the pilgrim roads that traversed their territory, and had a vested interest in securing the routes. 2. Presumably, the close relationship between the people of Suwāriqiyya (see map) and the nomadic (or half-nomadic) Sulamīs (see Appendix B) had a stabilizing effect. Sulaym included both settled and nomadic (or half-nomadic) groups. Apart from Suwāriqiyya, the Sulamīs had other settlements, and many Sulamīs must have engaged in agriculture.<sup>1</sup> 3. The internal unity of Sulaym was evident, above all, in their ability to carry out joint military operations. Also the leading families of some clans, that we may perhaps call “a tribal aristocracy”, held their positions for generations. In addition, the territory of Sulaym was well-defined (the possession of border areas and

1 Unfortunately, the sources for early Islam focus on Mecca, Medina and Ṭā'if. Archaeology is still an unrealized potential; cf. Masri 1977, pp. 16–7. Von Grunebaum 1963, p. 17, speaks of “[...] the *ghazw*, the armed raid, the only means of the Bedouin to redress a desperate economic situation”. This concept can no more be considered valid.

water-places was perhaps disputed) and this helped to reduce friction with other tribes.

It is well-known that this state of affairs was changed in the time of the Prophet. It is noteworthy that even when large Sulamī forces were engaged in fighting at that time, the initiative was taken by either Mecca or Medina.

In what follows there is an outline of the main findings, arranged according to chapters. For the documentation the reader is referred to the relevant chapters.

## *Chapter One: The land of the B. Sulaym and their links with other tribes*

### *The land*

In the south, Sulaym bordered on 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a; in the north – the Tha'laba b. Sa'd b. Ghaṭafān; in the northwest – the Muzayna and in the southwest – the Hudhayl. Their land stretched from the eastern lava flows (*ḥirār*) of Medina to the water-place ad-Dafīna (see map) and from the *wādīs* draining from the *ḥarra* of B. Sulaym to the borders of the *ḥimās* of Ḍariyya and ar-Rabadha. At the last boundary, their land touched on the land of Muḥārib.

The most prominent part of the land of the B. Sulaym is the lava flow, or *ḥarra*, that in ancient times was named after them. It is now called *Ḥarrat Ruhāt* (see map). The topography of the *ḥarra* provided its inhabitants with a natural defensive barrier since cavalry could not operate in this land. The *ḥarrat* B. Sulaym stretches from Dhāt 'Irq (modern ad-Ḍarība; see map) in the south to the environs of Medina and from the northwestern edge of Rukba and the 'Aqīq (northeast of Ṭā'if) in the east to Ruhāt (northwest of Mecca) in the west.

On the eastern slopes of the *ḥarra* we find one of the branches of Sulaym, the B. Imru'u l-Qays. Sometimes we come across explicit mention of the B. Khufāf, who were part of the Imru'u l-Qays.

A few places along the Baṣra-Mecca pilgrim route are mentioned in

connection with Sulaym. Ad-Dafīna is one which still exists; it is the twentieth station on the Baṣra-Mecca road. The poet ‘Abbās b. Mirdās addresses a woman from the B. Khufāf: in the summer she lives in the ‘Aqīq (i.e., south of Medina; see map) and in the nomadic period she is in Wajra and al-‘Urf (al-‘Arf on the Baṣra-Mecca road; see map. Wajra is well-known; it is located further west).

With few exceptions, all the evidence about the land of the Ḥārith branch relates to the western slopes of the *ḥarra*. Ruhāt, northwest of Mecca (near ar-Rajī‘, where the companions of the Prophet were attacked by Hudhayl), is linked with the B. al-Ḥārith; in Hadda in this vicinity (see map: Hadat ash-Shām), the Prophet was joined by a unit from the B. al-Ḥārith when he marched on Mecca.

Some of the pre-Islamic *ayyām* of Sulaym against Ghaṭafān, Kināna and Hudhayl took place on the western slopes of the *ḥarra*. This seems to indicate that at least a few decades before the Islamic era Sulaym applied military pressure on the inhabitants of that area.

The links with Kināna are important. Regarding the B. Layth (b. Bakr b. ‘Abd Manāt) from Kināna, we find a combination of a genealogical and a geographical record. Layth begot ‘Āmir, whose mother was Salmā bint al-Ḥārith b. Buhtha. There was a geographical meeting-point for Layth and a clan from the Ḥārith branch (the B. Zafar), namely mt. ash-Sharāt near ‘Uṣfān (see map). *Yawm* al-Kadīd between Sulaym and Kināna was fought in this very area.

The link with Muzayna also dates back to pre-Islamic times. The meeting-points were in the area west and south of Medina and on the western slopes of the *ḥarra*. The Sulamīs involved were from the Ḥārith branch. With one exception, also the evidence concerning links with Hudhayl relates to the Ḥārith branch.

### *Sulaym and other tribes*

Sulaym are part of the Qays ‘Aylān group. This is not just genealogical theory. Sulaym had closer links with other Qays ‘Aylān tribes than with any other tribe. Naturally, some Qays ‘Aylān tribes were closer to Sulaym than others and the geographical factor must have played an important

role. There is even evidence of hostility between Sulaym and Ghatafān, which was also a Qays 'Aylān tribe. The territories of the Qays 'Aylān tribes were contiguous. Though their common origin formed a convenient framework for military cooperation, the tribes and clans decided on alliances in each case on an *ad hoc* basis.

From the Qays 'Aylān tribes, those of the Hawāzin group were the closest allies of Sulaym. This applies to all the branches of Sulaym: the Ḥārith and Imru'ū l-Qays already mentioned before and the third branch, the B. Tha'laba. The most famous case is the cooperation of Sulaym and 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a (from Hawāzin) at Bi'r Ma'ūna. Limited cooperation between Sulaym and Hawāzin took place in the battle of Ḥunayn. While most of the Sulamī force was then on the Prophet's side, a Sulamī tribal leader called Abū l-A'war (from the Tha'laba branch) fought on the pagans' side.

Beside evidence on the proximity of the Sulaym and Hawāzin territories, we find marriages on the eponymous level; e.g., a daughter of the eponym of the Ḥārith branch was married to a person from Hawāzin. There were marriage links between leading families of the clans, e.g., the B. Ja'far b. Kilāb from 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a and the B. Jāriya from the B. 'Abs (of the Ḥārith branch).

*Ghatafān b. Sa'd b. Qays 'Aylān:* The relations between Sulaym and Ghatafān were hostile. The battles between them involved a combined effort of different Sulamī clans. Nevertheless, there was a link between them on the eponymous level. The mother of Ghatafān was also the mother of Sulaym. In addition, shortly before the Islamic period there was a marriage link between a leading family from Sulaym (Sharīd) and the leading family of 'Abs from Ghatafān.

There are clues of Ghatafānī presence on the southeastern edges of the ḥarrat B. Sulaym. Presumably, Ghatafān owned territories there before they were taken over by Sulaym. The idol al-'Uzzā serves as an important lead. It was located in wādī Nakhla ash-Shāmiyya (see map), roughly midway between Dhāt 'Irq and Bustān Ibn Ma'mar (or Ibn 'Āmir). Al-'Uzzā (the famous one, not another 'Uzzā, as Wellhausen believed) is



said to have belonged to Ghaṭafān; indeed, the B. Murra b. 'Awf from Ghaṭafān camped at the very site of the idol.

*Non-Qays 'Aylān tribes:* Outside the Qays 'Aylān group the evidence on links with Sulaym becomes rather scarce. There is some evidence on Tamīm, Rabī'a b. Nizār and a few Yemenī tribes.

It is somewhat surprising to find an impressive body of evidence about Sulamī raids against the Yemen (or against tribes on the road to the Yemen). Tribes from Madhḥij and Quḍā'a often cooperated against Sulaym. A friendly Hawāzin leader warning Sulyam about internal strife refers to the B. al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b, B. Zubayd and B. Khath'am as the potential enemies of Sulaym. A battle against Kinda took place near Ṣa'da. Also the *yawm* 'Ilāf (or 'Alāf) was fought against Kinda.

The military activity in the Yemen seems related to Sulaym's activity escorting caravans, possibly in the service of the kings of Ḥīra. Some support for this can be found in the words of Abū l-Baqā' who, admittedly, does not refer to the Yemen. He describes the relationship between Sulaym and Hawāzin on one hand and Ḥīra on the other saying that these tribes used to conclude pacts with the kings of Ḥīra. They would take their merchandise and sell it for them in 'Ukāz and in other markets. Thus they (the tribesmen) got profits with them. Abū l-Baqā' adds that the caravans with goods of the kings could not enter Najd and go beyond it without the escort of men of the tribes.

## *Chapter Two: The Ḥārith branch*

The Ḥārith branch inhabited the western slopes of the *ḥarra*, though there is evidence of its presence on the eastern slopes as well. The B. Ṣafar b. al-Ḥārith b. Buhtha and the B. Ka'b b. al-Ḥārith b. Buhtha inhabited *wādī Ghurān* northwest of Mecca. Al-Munaqqa' from the B. Ka'b b. al-Ḥārith led one hundred troops from his clan in the conquest of Mecca.

Rāshid (this name was given to him by the Prophet) from the B. Ka'b was the last custodian of the idol Suwā'. Unlike the Sulamī custodian of the idol al-'Uzzā (who was killed by Khālīd b. al-Walīd), Rāshid survived and had an important position in the time of the Prophet. Rāshid received

a letter from the Prophet granting him (or rather: recognizing his rights to) land in the upper part of Ruhāt (*al-ma'lāt min Ruhāt*). The upper part of Ruhāt was in fact the site of the idol Suwā'.

The B. 'Abs from the Hārith branch included the Jāriya family whose leading member in the time of the Prophet was 'Abbās b. Mirdās (b. Abī 'Āmir b. Jāriya). Dubayya b. Ḥaramī, the custodian of al-'Uzzā, was also from 'Abs.

At the beginning of 7 A.H., 'Abbās b. Mirdās was still hostile to the Prophet. 'Abbās allegedly explained to the caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb that the Jews had been his friends in the *Jāhiliyya*; he used to camp with them and accept their hospitality. A man like me, he said, is grateful for a favour bestowed on him. 'Abbās appears to have embraced Islam shortly before the conquest of Mecca. The Prophet put him in charge of levying taxes from Sulaym and their brother-tribe Māzin.

### *Chapter Three: The Imru'u l-Qays branch*

We seem to have more information on the Imru'u l-Qays branch than on the other branches. This could indicate that it was the most important branch of Sulaym.

The B. Khufāf b. Imri'i l-Qays comprised the following clans: B. 'Uṣayya, B. Mālik, B. Nāṣira and B. 'Amīra. The B. 'Uṣayya had four subdivisions, the most prominent group among them being the Sharīd: Mu'āwiya and Jabbār (nicknamed al-Farrār, "the coward" – literally: "he who flees from the battlefield"), sons of al-Ḥakam and their brothers played an outstanding role shortly before Islam and in the early Islamic period. Al-Farrār was in the Sulamī delegation to the Prophet and Mu'āwiya was one of the Sulamīs who received letters from the Prophet. The warrior and poet Khufāf b. Nudba was also from the Sharīd. He participated in the battles of Mecca, Ḥunayn and Ṭā'if.

The other subdivisions of 'Uṣayya participated in the conquest as well: one of the B. 'Awf b. Yaqaḏa fought in Ḥunayn and Ṭā'if (and presumably in the conquest of Mecca as well); one of the B. 'Abdallah b. Yaqaḏa took part in the conquest of Mecca; a member of the B. Mālik b. Yaqaḏa, Qidr

b. 'Ammār, was in command of the Sulamī army that was to meet the Prophet at Qudayd, on his way to conquer Mecca.

Among the B. Mālik b. Khufāf we find the B. Zighb, who are known to have participated in the battle of Bi'r Ma'ūna. The only family from Zighb which is known to us in some detail must have been their leading family. A member of this family, Al-Akhnas b. Yazīd, was in the Sulamī delegation to the Prophet and participated in the conquest of Mecca. After the Islamic conquests we find this family in different places, possibly as a result of its military role. Yazīd b. al-Akhnas settled in Kūfa with his children. His son Ma'n, who lived in Kūfa, stayed for some time in Egypt and then lived in Damascus. In the time of Mu'āwiya, Ma'n was in command of four thousand cavalrymen stationed in Ramla.

The B. 'Amīra b. Khufāf were the clan of the *ridda*-rebel al-Fujā'a. The B. Nāšira b. Khufāf fought in the Khandaq against the Prophet. One of their members, 'Amr b. 'Abasa, presumably made the *hijra* after the conquest of Khaybar and before the conquest of Mecca.

The B. Bahz b. Imri'i l-Qays were the clan of the wealthy confederate of Mecca Ḥajjāj b. 'Ilāṭ. He is said to have embraced Islam as early as Muḥarram 7 A.H., when the Prophet conquered Khaybar, and to have been one of the two envoys sent by the Prophet to Sulaym before the conquest of Mecca. Like other Sulamī confederates of Mecca, e.g. Sufyān b. 'Abd Shams and his son Abū l-A'war, Ḥajjāj kept his Sulamī genealogy. Like Sufyān's family, the family of Ḥajjāj had close links with the Umayyads and Ḥajjāj's son 'Ubaydallah held a governor's office under Mu'āwiya. The continuity from pre-Islamic Mecca into the Umayyad period is remarkable.

Again, we find a high degree of mobility. Ḥajjāj lived in Medina. Then he went to Syria and had a court in Damascus. He is also reported to have settled in Ḥimṣ and to have owned a court there. There is evidence linking Ḥajjāj to Baṣra, which is presumably about an earlier period, before he settled in Syria. His son Mu'arriḍ was killed in the battle of the Camel.

The B. 'Awf b. Imri'i l-Qays included the B. Mālik b. 'Awf and the B. Sammāl b. 'Awf. The B. Ri'l formed the better-known part of the B. Mālik.

Their leader in the time of the Prophet, ‘Abbās b. Anas ar-Ri’lī, fought with his clan in the Khandaq. He is reported to have embraced Islam “when Allāh defeated the *aḥzāb*”, but one would expect a later date, closer to the conquest of Mecca in 8 A.H.

The B. Sammāl b. ‘Awf included the B. Yarbū’ (who fought with the Prophet at Ḥunayn) and the B. Ḥarām. Yarbū’'s famous member was Mujāshi’ b. Mas‘ūd while the governor of Khurāsān (in the time of ‘Uthmān and Mu‘āwiya), ‘Abdallāh b. Khāzim, was from Ḥarām.

The companion of the Prophet ‘Urwa b. Asmā’ was from the B. Ḥarām. He was killed as a Muslim at Bi’r Ma‘ūna; however, this does not say anything about his clan, since he was a confederate of the Aws. The Prophet married his sister between the end of 7 A.H. and the beginning of 9 A.H., possibly in 8 A.H., the year in which Mecca was conquered. It would not be far-fetched to assume, that the marriage was intended to strengthen the ties between the Prophet and Sulaym.

In the conquest of Mecca, Mujāshi’ b. Mas‘ūd from Yarbū’ was presumably in command of the tribal unit of the B. ‘Awf b. Imri’i l-Qays. A verse by ‘Abbās b. Mirdās refers to the B. ‘Awf as “the clan of Mujāshi’” in the context of the conquest. Mujāshi’ was very prominent in the conquest of Persia. A rare reference to the tribal affiliation of the troops under his command is found in the reports on his last battle, the battle of the Camel: Mujāshi’ led the Hawāzin, Sulaym and the A’jāz (i.e., the ‘Ajuz Hawāzin: the B. Naṣr b. Mu‘āwiya, Jusham b. Mu‘āwiya and Sa’d b. Bakr). This is evidently a continuation of the pre-Islamic ties between Sulaym and Hawāzin.

#### *Chapter Four: The Tha’laba branch*

The Tha’laba branch included two clans: the B. Dhakwān b. Tha’laba (also referred to as B. Tha’laba) and the B. Mālik b. Tha’laba.

Almost all the evidence on the Dhakwān is linked with Mecca (see below), the exception being the companion Ṣafwān b. al-Mu‘aṭṭal, who fought with the Prophet in two expeditions in 6 A.H. However, he lived in Medina and presumably was a confederate of one of its clans.

The descendants of Mālik b. Tha’laba, known also as B. Bajla (after

their Dawsī mother) broke away from Sulaym and became the “protected neighbours” of the B. ‘Uqayl. One of them, al-Ward b. Khālīd, participated in the conquest of Mecca. Another, ‘Amr b. ‘Abasa, was from the *ahl aṣ-ṣuffa*. There are contradictory reports concerning the latter’s participation in the conquest of Mecca. One source says that his first battle with the Prophet was the siege of Ṭā’if.

### *Chapter Five: Sulaym and Medina*

Some of the B. Sulaym were close neighbours of Medina and at times their *ḥarra* provided shelter to the people of Medina. Other aspects of their links are trade (Sulamīs brought horses, camels, sheep and clarified butter to the markets of Medina), idol-worship (an idol called Khamīs was worshipped by both the Khazraj and Sulaym) and family relations. In addition, Sulamī clans from the Ḥārith branch settled in Medina. One of them, the Ka’b b. Zafar b. al-Ḥārith b. Buhtha, was incorporated, in the pre-Islamic period, into the genealogical system of Medina. Another clan, the Mu’āwiya b. al-Ḥārith b. Buhtha, had settled in Medina even before the Aws and the Khazraj and was Judaised. A third clan, the B. Dhakwān, of uncertain affiliation, settled in Medina (or perhaps camped there only during the summer).

The Nabit tribal group (from Aws) seems to have been closer to Sulaym than other groups. Perhaps this was behind the plan of unnamed groups from Aws, in the time of the Prophet, to form an alliance with Sulaym. In the pre-Islamic period, Sulaym intervened in the fighting between two of Nabit’s subdivisions, the B. Ḥāritha and the B. ‘Abd al-Ashhal.

Contacts between Sulaym and the people of Medina are found outside Medina as well. Two or three generations before the time of the Prophet Uḥayḥa b. al-Julāḥ from the ‘Amr b. ‘Awf (Aws) owned a settlement called Ḥanadh in the Ḥijāz in which he grew palm trees. It was in the land of Sulaym, more precisely, the border-point between Sulaym and Muzayna. In addition, in several localities east and southeast of Medina, Sulamīs and *Anṣār* shared settlements and water-places. The record concerning Ḥanadh indicates that the sharing of settlements could well date back to pre-Islamic times.

## Chapter Six: Sulaym and Mecca

Whereas in Medina we found Sulamī clans (although there were individuals as well), much of the evidence concerning Sulaym and Mecca is focused on individuals who usually kept their Sulamī origins.

The B. Dhakwān b. Tha'labā b. Buhthā seem to have been the closest Sulamī allies of Mecca both before Islam and in the early Islamic period. However, one of them, Muḥammad b. Khuzā'ī, took part in Abraha's expedition against Mecca. Abraha reportedly crowned him and appointed him the commander of a troop from the Muḍar tribes. According to al-Kalbī, the B. Dhakwān were *ḥums*. The beginning of their link with Mecca is somewhat unclear. Was Quṣayy's father, Kilāb, the first to marry a woman from Dhakwān, or was the first 'Abd Manāf b. Quṣayy, two generations later? Or perhaps it was Umayya b. 'Abd Shams, 'Abd Manāf's grandson? One thing is certain: there were many marriages between this Dhakwānī family and the B. 'Abd Shams, at least one marriage with the B. Hāshim and marriages with other Qurashī clans. This Sulamī family married into some of the most important families of Quraysh.

*Al-Muhtasib*: A member of Dhakwān called Ḥakīm b. Umayya, a confederate of the B. 'Abd Shams, held an office of authority in pre-Islamic Mecca: his title was *al-muhtasib*. The office can best be described as the supervision of law and order. Reportedly, he operated with the consent of all Quraysh clans.

There was no comparable intensity in Mecca's links with other Sulamīs. A genealogical record seems to indicate that at some stage the B. 'Uṣayya (b. Khufāf b. Imri'ī l-Qays) considered themselves part of Quraysh: their eponym 'Uṣayya was claimed to have been the son of Ma'īṣ b. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy.

Ḥajjāj b. 'Ilāt from the B. Bahz b. Imri'ī l-Qays lived in Mecca. He was a confederate of the B. 'Abd ad-Dār and married one of their women. He owned an abode (*rab'*) in Mecca.

The Prophet's companion 'Utba b. Farqad from the Ḥārith branch (B. Rifā'a b. al-Ḥārith) was a confederate of the B. al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abd Manāf. It was an old link: 'Utba's mother was from the B. al-Muṭṭalib. 'Utba's

participation in the expedition of Khaybar has some wider implications, as it could indicate that in the Ḥudaybiyya agreement between the Prophet and Quraysh, the latter undertook to provide military aid in the impending conquest of Khaybar. In the Islamic conquests 'Utba emerged as a prominent warrior and, perhaps more importantly, as a very wealthy man.

Members of the Shaybān family from 'Abs b. Rifā'a (the Ḥārith branch) were the custodians of the idol al-'Uzzā in Nakhla and were linked to the B. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

*Economic aspects:* Some of Mecca's Sulamī confederates had courts of their own. Ḥajjāj b. 'Ilāt's abode (*rab'*) in Mecca was taken from him when he made the *hijra*. 'Utba b. Farqad's court was located near the Marwa, not far from the Ka'ba. This, however, is Islamic: the land for it was granted to him by the Prophet.

Very little was found on Sulamī trade with Mecca: one Sulamī sold camels, another is said to have been a partner of the Prophet's father. The evidence about Ḥajjāj b. 'Ilāt is somewhat more substantial. He was a rich man who owned the gold mines in the land of the B. Sulaym. He was the first to send a *ṣadaqa* from *ma'din* B. Sulaym to the Prophet. He was believed to have gold in his Meccan home, but some unfortunate burglar found only dried sheep skins.

A joint agricultural project of Mirdās b. Abī 'Āmir (the father of 'Abbās b. Mirdās) and Ḥarb b. Umayya (the father of Abū Sufyān) was planned in al-Qurayya northwest of Mecca, in the land of the Ḥārith branch of Sulaym.

*Military aspects:* Some military aspects of Mecca's links with its allies are brought to light by the evidence on Sulaym. Sufyān b. 'Abd Shams from the B. Dhakwān b. Tha'laba was the confederate of Ḥarb b. Umayya (Mu'āwiya's grandfather). In Uḥud, Sufyān fought with Quraysh. Sufyān's son, Abū l-A'war, was the confederate of Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and was the only non-Qurashī member in the Meccan delegation which negotiated with the Prophet after Uḥud. In the battle of the Khandaq, Sufyān led the Sulamī forces. The Sulamīs fought again in the conquest

of Mecca, this time in the service of the Prophet. However, part of Mecca's closest allies, the B. Dhakwān, did not join the Prophet; the Dhakwānī Abū l-A'war still fought in Ḥunayn against the Muslims.

Abū l-A'war had a remarkable career in the early Islamic period. In the battle of Yarmūk he was in command of a squadron of cavalry. He carried one of the best-known letters in Islamic diplomacy from 'Uthmān b. 'Affān to the governor of Egypt. At some stage he was put in charge of the province of Urdunn. Twenty years later, when 'Uthmān died, Abū l-A'war was again the governor of Urdunn under Mu'āwiya and at one point he was the commander of Mu'āwiya's cavalry.

A few points merit special notice: 1. The command of Mecca's ally, Sufyān b. 'Abd Shams, over 700 Sulamīs in the Khandaq indicates that when need be, Sufyān could recruit hundreds of warriors in the service of Mecca. 2. Whereas Mecca's links with Sulaym started a few generations before Islam, Medina's links with Sulaym were much older; they started even before the settlement of the Aws and the Khazraj. 3. We found different patterns of relations with Sulaym in Mecca and Medina. In Mecca there were individuals or small families, whereas in Medina there were larger tribal groups. The agricultural potential of Medina should account for this difference. 4. The Sulamīs who settled in Mecca did not become part of Quraysh.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, one of the Sulamī groups that settled in Medina was incorporated into the Aws. 5. The cases of al-Qurayya and Ḥanadh show that already in the pre-Islamic period, wealthy entrepreneurs from Mecca and Medina were investing in agricultural projects in Arabia. 6. It is noteworthy that one of those involved in the Qurayya project, Mirdās b. Abī 'Āmir, is also known as a prominent Sulamī warrior.

2 Indeed, the B. 'Uṣayya adopted, at some stage, a Qurashī genealogy; but it seems that no settlement in Mecca took place.



## Chapter Seven: The military activity of Sulaym

The pre-Islamic *ayyām* of Sulaym yield valuable information on the level of their military activity and on the degree of unity and cooperation among them.

As we have said, the military potential of Sulaym and their ability to cooperate were demonstrated in the time of the Prophet. In the conquest of Mecca the B. Sulaym played an important role. All the Sulamīs who joined the Prophet at Qudayd were reportedly mounted on horseback, while only part of the warriors in other tribes were horsemen.

The evidence of the *ayyām* includes many references to the cooperation of two or more clans. In the raid against Zubayd and Quḍā'a, which was a major military effort, 'Abbās b. Mirdās is said to have recruited warriors from all the clans of Sulaym. The Imru'u l-Qays and Tha'laba branches fought together. The (admittedly scarce) evidence on the latter invariably links it to the former.

The identity of the tribal units of Sulaym in the conquest of Mecca provides a meeting-point with the *ayyām*. There is some indication of two main Sulamī units which divided into five secondary ones. However, verses of 'Abbās b. Mirdās on the conquest name Khufāf, Dhakwān and 'Awf, i.e., three main units. Khufāf and 'Awf are the main components of the Imru'u l-Qays branch. A small unit from the Ḥārith branch also participated in the conquest. Now the tribal units Khufāf and 'Awf appear in the *ayyām* too; independent units of Khufāf and 'Awf fought in the *yawm* Dhū (or Dhāt) l-Athl against the B. Asad. The brother of al-Khansā', Ṣakhr, led the B. Khufāf and Anas b. 'Abbās ar-Ri'li led the B. 'Awf.

The *ayyām* of the Imru'u l-Qays branch also included battles against Kināna and Ghaṭafān. Al-Kadīd, where a battle with the Kināna took place, is forty-two miles northwest of Mecca. The absence of the Sharīd family (from 'Uṣayya) from this battle was considered to be unusual. The following battle against Kināna took place in Burza (see map), not far from al-Kadīd. The protagonist here was Mālik b. Khālīd *dhū t-tāj* from Sharīd. The 'Uṣayya clan was involved in the fighting against Kināna; the Sharīd family figured prominently.

In al-Ḥawra, located in the vicinity of *wādī* as-Sitāra (see map), two battles between Sulaym and Ghaṭafān (more precisely, the B. Murra and B. Fazāra) took place in successive years. The colourful account of the fighting in Ḥawra names on the Sulamī side Mu'āwiya b. 'Amr and Khufāf b. 'Umayr (i.e., Khufāf b. Nudba), both from the Sharīd family, as well as two other members of 'Uṣayya, 'Abbās al-Aṣamm (from Ri'l) and 'Abbās b. Mirdās (from 'Abs). Again, the 'Uṣayya, and especially the Sharīd family, were most prominent. 'Abbās b. Mirdās, being a member of the Ḥārith branch, was the exception.

In addition, the B. Ri'l took part in battles against Tamīm and Bakr b. Wā'il on the eastern boundaries of the land of Sulaym. In the *yawm* ad-Dafina (see map) a Tamīmī clan inflicted heavy losses on the B. Ri'l. Consequently, the Ri'l became one of the least numerous clans of Sulaym.

The Ḥārith branch participated in the major military efforts of Sulaym such as the pre-Islamic expedition against Zubayd and Quḍā'a led by 'Abbās b. Mirdās (himself a Ḥārithī) and the conquest of Mecca.

However, usually they did not participate in the *ayyām* of the Imru'u l-Qays branch and Imru'u l-Qays warriors did not participate in their *ayyām*. This is somewhat surprising since Imru'u l-Qays battles against Kināna and Ghaṭafān took place on the western slopes of the *ḥarrat* B. Sulaym, in or near the territory of the Ḥārith branch.

Judging from the amount of evidence on the *ayyām* of the Ḥārith branch, we could conclude that they were far less active militarily than the Imru'u l-Qays. Otherwise, perhaps the informants from the Imru'u l-Qays were more active in providing accounts on their *ayyām* to Abū 'Ubayda and his colleagues.

Three families, two from the Imru'u l-Qays and one from the Ḥārith, figure prominently in the *ayyām*: the Sharīd from 'Uṣayya b. Khufāf, the family of 'Abbās al-Aṣamm from Ri'l b. Mālik b. 'Awf and the family of 'Abbās b. Mirdās, i.e., the Jāriya family from 'Abs.

The participants in the *rida* include the B. 'Uṣayya b. Khufāf, especially the Sharīd, the B. 'Amīra b. Khufāf, the B. 'Awf b. Imri'i l-Qays and part of the Jāriya. One source adds the Dhakwān (b. Tha'laba from the Tha'laba branch). The list is not contradicted by the detailed reports

on the *ridḍa*: all the individuals mentioned in them are from one of the above groups. Not surprisingly, almost all the groups (with the exception of ‘Amīra) are known to us from the *ayyām* of Sulaym. Two of the three families that were found to be prominent in the *ayyām*, namely Jāriya and Sharīd, are also involved in the *ridḍa*.

### *Chapter Eight: The letters of the Prophet*

Thirteen Sulamīs received letters from the Prophet; the Sulamīs received far more than any other tribe.

No less than three letters were given to members of the Jāriya family that played an important role in the *ayyām*. As for the Sharīd, one of their members received one of two letters given to the B. ‘Uṣayya.

Valuable evidence about the organization of the B. Ri‘l is yielded by the letters given to them. The letter of Razīn b. Anas b. ‘Āmir (or ‘Abbās b. Anas ar-Ri‘li) relates to ad-Dafīna (and to two other places). The recipient was clearly from the leading family of the B. Ri‘l, that played a significant role before Islam and in the early days of Islam. This was not a grant by the Prophet but rather a recognition on his part of existing rights.

Unlike the aforementioned Dafīna-letter, the letter of Sa‘īd b. Sufyān ar-Ri‘li relates to the dates of Suwāriqiyya (i.e., cultivated land) and its castle. The combination of these letters shows that in the time of the Prophet either some of the B. Ri‘l were pastoralists while others were agriculturalists, or they had flocks as well as dates, leading pastoral lives – and tilling the soil in different seasons. Considering the evidence on Suwāriqiyya (see Appendix B), the former possibility is more likely.

### *Chapter Nine: Sulaym and Quḍā‘a*

A letter of the Prophet was given to “Ḥarām b. ‘Abd ‘Awf (or b. ‘Awf as-Sulamī”, otherwise known as Ḥarām b. ‘Awf *al-Balawī*. However, “Ḥarām” seems to be a corruption; the correct name is probably Ḥizām. Ḥizām was from a clan of Balī called the B. Ju‘al (also called: B. Ju‘ayl). Together with a group from his tribe, he swore allegiance to the Prophet

“under the tree”, i.e., at Ḥudaybiyya. Also “al-Ajabb” as-Sulamī received a letter from the Prophet. The correct name is Lāḥib. Lāḥib can be traced back to the B. Ju‘al (Ju‘ayl) from Balī, more precisely, the B. Ṣakhr from Ju‘al.

It is reported that at Ḥudaybiyya the Prophet gave the B. Ṣakhr from Ju‘al a new name. Lāḥib came to the Prophet with a group from his tribe in order to give the Prophet an oath of allegiance. They reported their genealogy to the Prophet, and in it were included the names Ju‘al and Ṣakhr. But the Prophet said, “There are no Ṣakhr and no Ju‘al, you are B. ‘Abdallah”. Another letter of the Prophet, given to the same clan from Balī, clarifies the identity of these B. ‘Abdallah. It states that the Ju‘al “are a group from Quraysh, more precisely from the B. ‘Abd Manāf, having the same rights and the same duties as the B. ‘Abd Manāf”. Now the B. ‘Abdallah were none other than the B. ‘Abd Manāf who received from the Prophet this new Islamic name. It follows that when the Prophet called the B. Ṣakhr from Ju‘al: B. ‘Abdallah, he actually declared them part of the B. ‘Abd Manāf. The same is shown by their letter.

In sum, there are three letters related to the B. Ju‘al, two given to individuals and one given to the clan. However, there is a problem. Ḥizām and Lāḥib were Balawīs while the letters of the Prophet refer to them as Sulamīs. The Sulamī pedigree is accounted for by the mother: the eponym Ju‘al was married to a woman from Sulaym, who bore his children. There is yet another difficulty. According to his pedigree, Ju‘al was from Hawāzin, not from Balī. Presumably, the genealogical information is incomplete at this point.

There were marriage links between Sulaym and Quḍā‘a on the eponymous level. The evidence refers to both the Imru‘u l-Qays and the Ḥārith branches. The wife of Khufāf, who was the mother of ‘Uṣayya, ‘Amīra, Nāṣira and Mālik, was from Quḍā‘a; ‘Amīra’s wife was from Juhayna and the wife of al-Ḥārith b. Buhtha was from Kalb b. Wabara.

Hamdānī includes in his description of the land of Juhayna names of settlements – otherwise known to have belonged to Sulaym – among them Iran, Ṣufayna, as-Suwāriqiyya (which he calls “the *qarya* of the B.

Sulaym”) and Ruhāt. Iran, Şufayna (see map) and Suwāriqiyya are on the eastern slopes of the *ḥarrat* B. Sulaym; Ruhāt is on the western slopes. Hamdānī may be referring to Juhānī farmers who inhabited these settlements. This is certainly the case with Şufayna. A letter of the Prophet recognizes a group from Juhayna as the owners of land in Şufayna. At this point Hamdānī’s report is confirmed.

There is abundant evidence concerning cohabitation of Sulaym and Balī from Quḍā’a in the *ma’din* B. Sulaym. The first who lived in the *ma’din* were the Amalekites and an unspecified Balawī group. Then the B. Farrān from Balī and the B. ‘Uṣayya from Sulaym settled there. At a later stage the B. Farrān adopted a Sulamī pedigree. In the time of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, there was a dispute between Balī and the Sharīd from ‘Uṣayya over the ownership of the *ma’din*. The report shows that the Balawīs were not totally assimilated into Sulaym and could return, if they wished, to their former genealogy.

## Appendix A: The kings of Sulaym

The meagre evidence on the institution of kingship in Sulaym<sup>1</sup> refers to three persons. Two of them were from the B. ash-Sharīd, the leading family of ‘Uṣayya, and the third was from the leading family of Ri’l.

Mālik b. Khālīd b. Ṣakhr b. ash-Sharīd was crowned by the B. Sulaym.<sup>2</sup> Significantly, one source<sup>3</sup> calls him the *ra’īs* of Sulaym, i.e., their military commander. Mālik’s great-grandfather, ash-Sharīd (whose name was ‘Amr) b. Riyāḥ b. Yaqāza b. ‘Uṣayya, is said to have been “the owner of the crown” (*dhū t-tāj*).<sup>4</sup>

The crowning of ‘Abbās b. Anas ar-Ri’lī accounts for his participation in a battle between the B. Nabhān from Ṭay’ and Fazāra: the latter asked for aid from other clans of Qays ‘Aylān. In the ranks of Fazāra (not among the reinforcements from Qays ‘Aylān) there was a courageous *sayyid* called ‘Abbās b. Anas ar-Ri’lī. In the *Jāhiliyya* the B. Sulaym had wanted to crown him, but an envious paternal cousin slapped him on the eye. Having been thus humiliated, ‘Abbās left the territory of Sulaym with a group from his family and his clan and camped with Fazāra.<sup>5</sup> Another

1 Cf. Kister 1965a, p. 353; Landau-Tasseron, *Ridda*, pp. 216–7.

2 I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 261; above, Ch. VII, n. 40.

3 Bakrī, s.v. Buzra (*sic*).

4 Landau-Tasseron, *loc. cit.* = Abū l-Baqā’, *Manāqib*, I, p. 72 (printed: Rabāḥ instead of Riyāḥ). However, Abū l-Baqā’ denies that the reference here is to a proper crown.

5 *Aghānī*, XVI, p. 57, l. 6: *wa-fihim rajul min Sulaym shadidu l-ba’s sayyid yuqālu lahu ‘Abbās b. Anas ar-Ri’lī, kānat B. Sulaym qad arādū ‘aqda t-tāj ‘alā ra’sihi fī l-jāhiliyya, fa-ḥasadahu ‘bnu ‘amm lahu fa-laṭama ‘aynahu, fa-kharaja ‘Abbās min a’māl (sic) B. Sulaym fī ‘iddatin min ahli baytihi wa-qawmihi fa-nazala fī B. Fazāra*. The story of the

report tells that 'Abbās b. Anas ar-Ri'li was crowned by the B. Sulaym and made king. When he acted contrary to their will in some matter, they rebelled against him. This happened because of the small number of his kin in the tribe.<sup>6</sup>

The evidence concerning the kings may perhaps account for the strife between Khufāf b. Nudba and 'Abbās b. Mirdās. Yaḥyā al-Jubūrī discerns in the poetry of 'Abbās b. Mirdās two periods separated by the death in battle of the leader of Sulaym, Ṣakhr b. 'Amr b. ash-Sharīd. After this death, he suggests, 'Abbās and his cousin Khufāf b. Nudba contended for the leadership of Sulaym.<sup>7</sup> Landau-Tasseron<sup>8</sup> links the strife with the reports on the crowning of 'Abbās b. Anas. The strife began when Khufāf, addressing a crowd from Sulaym, declared that 'Abbās b. Mirdās coveted the position which had once been held by 'Abbās b. Anas. Khufāf thought that 'Abbās was unfit for this.<sup>9</sup> Since 'Abbās b. Anas had been a king, or had almost been crowned, Khufāf may well have been implying that 'Abbās b. Mirdās coveted the kingship.

The only fact which can be established is that those who became (or nearly became) kings were members of leading families and played a very prominent military role in the *ayyām* of Sulaym.

battle makes it clear that a Sulami unit was fighting with Fazāra: Zayd al-Khayl attacked them first, capturing Umm al-Aswad, the wife of 'Abbās b. Anas; he then attacked the Fazāra and the *akhlāt*, i.e., a mixture of warriors from different tribes. Landau-Tasseron suggests that 'Abbās' cousin crippled him, rendering him unfit for kingship.

6 Jāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, V, pp. 30–1: *wa-qad kānū tawwajūhu wa-mallakūhu, fa-lammā khālafahum fī ba'di l-amr wathabū 'alayhi. Wa-kāna sababu dhālika qillatu raḥṭihi*. Cf. perhaps above, Ch. VII, n. 67.

7 'Abbās b. Mirdās, *Diwān*, pp. 6, 10.

8 *Ridda*, pp. 216–7.

9 *Aghānī*, XVI, p. 140, l. 5: *kāna bad'u mā kāna bayna l-Khufāf(!) b. Nudba wa-l-'Abbās b. Mirdās anna Khufāfan kāna fī mala' min B. Sulaym fa-qāla lahum: inna 'Abbās b. Mirdās yuridu an yablughā finā mā balagha 'Abbās b. Anas*.

## *Appendix B: Nomads and sedentaries*

Typically, the evidence on the *ayyām* of Sulaym surpasses the evidence on the settlements in their land and the relationship between their inhabitants and the nomadic (or half-nomadic) members of Sulaym. Fortunately, on as-Suwāriqiyya we have a fascinating piece of evidence indeed.

### *As-Suwāriqiyya*

Suwāriqiyya (see map) was an important pilgrim station southeast of Medina, in a low plain surrounded by the high hills of the *ḥarrat* B. Sulaym, about sixty km. southwest of the *ma'din* B. Sulaym.<sup>10</sup>

The source of many records on the land of Sulaym is 'Arrām b. al-Aṣṣbagh as-Sulamī who flourished in the third century A.H.<sup>11</sup> 'Arrām is the source of a unique report on Suwāriqiyya. He says that it is a very

10 Rāshid, *Zubayda*, pp. 105–6, 133–4; *Manāsik*, pp. 337–9; Wuhaybī, *Northern Ḥijāz*, Index. On Suwāriqiyya see also Lammens, *Berceau*, pp. 99–100; Yāqūt, s.v.; Bakrī, s.v., III, p. 764; s.v. Ublā, I, p. 100; on the collection of its taxes by the governor of Furu' see Bakrī, s.v., III, p. 1021; (cf. the statement in the *Manāsik*, p. 413, that Medina is in charge of the collection of taxes in fourteen districts, *al-Madīna tujbā 'alā arba'ata 'ashara minbarān*); Samh., s.v.; *Umdat al-akhbār*, pp. 297–8; *Maghānim*, Index. The list of *qurā 'arabiyya* in Bakrī, I, p. 15, specifically mentions Khaybar, Fadak and Suwāriqiyya. On this term see Wuhaybī, *Northern Ḥijāz*, pp. 190–219. Samh. I, p. 556, l. 14, says that in the southern wall of Medina there is a gate called *bāb as-Suwāriqiyya*. In the time of Samhūdī it was blocked.

11 Hajari, pp. 68–70. Ḥusayn Naṣṣār dates his death at about 275/888; see Naṣṣār, *al-Mu'jam al-Arabī nash'atuhu wa-tatawwuruhi*, 2nd. edition, Cairo 1968, I, pp. 154–5, 157–8; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'allifina*, VI, p. 275; Jāsir 1979a, p. 24; Jāsir 1953.



populous settlement. It forms a district, has a central mosque and a big market to which merchants would come from afar. 'Arrām adds that it belongs to the B. Sulaym alone<sup>12</sup> and each of them has a share in it. It has fields, dates and several other kinds of fruit. In addition, they have many horses, camels and sheep. 'Arrām continues:

They (i.e., the Sulamīs) are *bādiya*, except those born in it, who live there. The others roam around it and supply food along the two pilgrim routes, the road of the Ḥijāz and the road of Najd. And the limit is Ḍariyya, which is their border point, at a distance of seven days' journey.

The roads of Ḥijāz and Najd are the Kūfa-Mecca road and the Baṣra-Mecca road.<sup>13</sup> Seven days' journey is also the distance between Ḍariyya and Medina.<sup>14</sup> This text<sup>15</sup> is followed by the mention of the settlements around Suwāriqiyya.<sup>16</sup>

As a result of this relationship between the settled inhabitants of Suwāriqiyya and its *bādiya*, an impressive variety of fruits were grown there and the inhabitants had horses, camels and sheep which were pastured by the *bādiya*. Only those who were born in Suwāriqiyya lived there, perhaps because of the expertise needed for agriculture. The *bādiya* roamed around the central settlement that had, besides rich agriculture, also good fortifications. The *bādiya* received a share of the yields and transported the produce to where it could be sold.

Concerning the chronology, Jāsir plausibly suggests that the report

12 It probably had inhabitants from other tribes too.

13 *Maghānim*, p. 189, n. 1. See also above, Ch. I, nn. 62, 210.

14 I. Sa'd, II, p. 78; Samh., II, p. 1093.

15 'Arrām, pp. 431–2: [...] *wa-lahum mazāri' wa-nakhil kathīra wa-fawākih min mawz wa-tin wa-rummān wa-'inab wa-safarjal wa-khawkh, wa-yuqālu lahu l-firsik. Wa-lahum khayl wa-ibl wa-shā' kathīr. Wa-hum bādiya, illā man wulida bihā, fa-innahum tānūna fihā, wa-l-ākharūna bādūna ḥawālayhā, wa-yamirūna ṭarīqa l-Ḥijāz wa-Najd fī ṭarīqayi l-ḥajj. Wa-l-ḥaddu Ḍariyya, wa-ilayhā yantahi ḥadduhum 'alā sab'i marāḥila.*

16 The economic significance of Suwāriqiyya for Sulaym is reflected in its description as their source of fodder, loans and gifts (*al-musta'laf wa-l-mustaslaf wa-mustatlaf*), Hajari, p. 326=Bakrī, III, p. 765.

relates to the time of 'Arrām, i.e., the third century A.H.<sup>17</sup> Fortunately, we can rely on a report<sup>18</sup> on the disturbances caused by the B. Sulaym in 230/845. In it Suwāriqiyya figures as a Sulamī stronghold; there is military cooperation between the *bādiya* and the sedentaries of Sulaym and the 'Awf and Khufāf tribal groups, whom we met in the *ayyām* and in the conquest of Mecca, still exist. A battle between Sulaym and forces dispatched by the governor of Medina took place in ar-Ruwaytha, a three-day journey from Medina.<sup>19</sup> Most of the Sulamīs were from the B. 'Awf. The B. Sulaym were aided by reinforcements that arrived "from a place in which their *bādiya* was camping" (*min mawḍi' fihi badwuhum*) called *a'lā ar-Ruwaytha*, i.e., "the upper part of the *wādī* ar-Ruwaytha", at a distance of four miles from the battlefield. The outcome of the battle was as follows: The Sulamīs gained more strength and robbed the settlements and the water-places between their land, on the one hand, and Mecca and Medina on the other. Then another battle took place in the *ḥarrat* B. Sulaym behind Suwāriqiyya "which was the settlement in which they used to seek shelter – and Suwāriqiyya consisted of castles".<sup>20</sup>

Of special interest is another Sulamī settlement, obviously less important than Suwāriqiyya, which is said to have belonged to "all of them". It was Qalahā, not far from Suwāriqiyya.<sup>21</sup> Qalahā was in *wādī* Dhī

17 But it is plausible that this situation existed in the time of the Prophet as well. The letters of the Prophet to the B. Ri'l (the identity of one of the recipients is admittedly disputed) provide an indication of the existence of both nomads and sedentaries within this clan; see above, the end of Ch. VIII.

18 Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh*, IX, pp. 129–31; I. Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, p. 12–3; I. Khaldūn, *Ibar*, III, p. 271 (with new facts concerning troubles caused by other tribes as well); Oppenheim, *Beduinen*, III, p. 14.

19 See on ar-Ruwaytha Bakrī, s.v. ar-Ruwaythāt, II, p. 685.

20 Ṭabari: *as-Suwāriqiyya, wa-hiya qaryatuhumu 'llatī kānū ya'wūna ilayhā, wa-s-Suwāriqiyya ḥuṣūnun*; I. Athīr: *fa-laḳiyahum bi-ba'dī miyāhi l-ḥarra min warā'i s-Suwāriqiyya, qaryatihimi 'llatī ya'wūna ilayhā, wa-bihā ḥuṣūnun*.

21 *Li-B. Sulaym qāṭibatan*, Samh., s.v. Qalahā (according to some, its name was Qalhā); 'Arrām, p. 427; Yāqūt, s.v. Qalahā.

Rawlān which 'Arrām mentions after ar-Riḥḍiyya; the two places were obviously adjacent. As his route finally brings him to Suwāriqiyya, we may guess that this *wādī* was between ar-Riḥḍiyya and Suwāriqiyya.<sup>22</sup> 'Arrām mentions that in this *wādī* there were many settlements; he names Qalahā and Taqtud.

### *Other settlements*

There are a few pieces of evidence on agricultural land owned by Sulamīs.<sup>23</sup> The agricultural project of al-Qurayya, in which the prominent warrior Mirdās b. Abī 'Āmir participated, has already been discussed.<sup>24</sup> In addition, there are three localities linked with the B. 'Uṣayya (more precisely, the Sharīd family).

*Al-Wāhida*: A unique pre-Islamic document concerns the granting of agricultural land by the eponym of the B. ash-Sharīd. The details are as follows: Thirty-five years after the expedition of the Elephant and five years before the Mission of the Prophet, a large gathering of Arabs from Nizār and Yemen took place in 'Ukāz. They came to exchange their camels, cattle and money for goods from Egypt, Syria and Iraq. Ma'mar b. al-Ḥārith<sup>25</sup> al-'Udhri, the grandfather of the poet Jamīl b. 'Abdallah, ordered his sons to serve 'Amr ash-Sharīd.<sup>26</sup> When the market was over, 'Amr told his two sons Ṣakhr and Mu'āwiya that he had never seen such kindness and he asked their consent to reward him. After having secured

22 Yāqūt, s.v. Rawlān; Bakrī, s.v. (Dhū) Wirlān, IV, pp. 1378, 907; Samh., s.v., says that it is a *wādī* near ar-Riḥḍiyya belonging to Sulaym and that Qalahā is located in it; *Maghānim*, pp. 106, n. 1, 169, 400.

23 Apart from the above report on Suwāriqiyya, I did not come across evidence that Sulamīs were engaged in cultivation; there may be gaps in the evidence.

24 See above, Ch. VI, n. 134.

25 b. al-Khaybari b. Zabyān b. Hunn b. Ḥizām (cf. I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*: Rabī'a) b. Kathīr b. 'Udhra.

26 Erroneously written: b. ash-Sharīd.

their consent, he had a notary write a deed for his property in al-Wāḥida, which is one of the *a'rād* (i.e., the districts belonging to the jurisdiction) of Yathrib. The deed bore the date: thirty five years after the Year of the Elephant.<sup>27</sup> No doubt, this extraordinary report relates to agricultural land.

*Iran*: About twenty miles from al-Atm on the main road to Suwāriqiyya, there was a valley called Iran which belonged to the B. ash-Sharīd and others.<sup>28</sup> The B. ash-Sharīd "are entitled to the present-day" to receive the '*ulfa* - the share given to a guard or a friend - from every harvest of barley reaped by the agriculturalists of Iran.<sup>29</sup>

*Thaniyyat ash-Sharīd*: It is tempting to suggest that the estate called Thaniyyat ash-Sharīd in the 'Aqīq, not far from Medina, was named after the eponym of this important family. However, Ibn Zabāla, while stating that it belonged to a Sulamī, does not link it to our Sharīd: Thaniyyat ash-Sharīd belonged to a man from Sulaym who was the last surviving member of his family; hence his name *ash-Sharīd*.<sup>30</sup> The 'Aqīq flowed

27 Marzūqī, *Azmina*, II, p. 168–9; Wuhaybī, *Northern Hijāz*, pp. 301–2 (he does not suggest an identification for the place). The *a'rād* of Medina included Taymā', Fadak, Dumat al-Jandal etc., I. Khurradadhbīh, p. 129; I. Rusta, p. 177. Idrīsī, II, p. 145, lists al-Wāḥida among the *makhālīf* of Medina. There are indications that al-Wāḥida was located between Mecca and Medina. Naṣr, fol. 151, says that it is a place in the Hijāz. Ibn Harma mentions in a verse both al-Wāḥida and al-Ghamr, implying that they were adjacent; see *Shi'r Ibrāhīm b. Harma al-Qurashī*, ed. Muḥammad Naffā' and Ḥusayn 'Aṭwān, Damascus 1389/1969, p. 132. The *Maghānim*, s.v., p. 426, quotes Ibn Harma and remarks: '*irḍ min a'rāḍi l-Madīna*. Cf. Samh. and *Maghānim*, s.v. 'Irḍ. Al-Ghamr is presumably Ghamr Dhī Kinda; see e.g. Yāqūt, s.v. al-Ghamr; above Ch. I, n. 212. Samh., s.v. al-Wāḥida, says that it is one of the *a'rād* of Medina, between Medina and Mecca.

28 *Manāsik*, p. 339: [...] *wa-li- jamā'a min alfāfi n-nās*; Yāqūt, s.v. On al-Atm see below, n. 56. Iran is still known today, *Manāsik*, loc. cit., n. 2.

29 Hajārī, p. 189; *Lisān al-'arab*, s.v. '*l.f.*', p. 256 (quoting Hajārī).

30 Samh., II, 1066: *wa-naqala Ibn Zabāla anna Thaniyyat ash-Sharīd kānat li-rajul min B.*

near the Thaniyya; the Thaniyya had many dwellings and wells. Aside from different kinds of fodder, the Thaniyya had fields, excellent dates and grapes. It also had pastureland.<sup>31</sup>

Ibn Zabāla also reports that the caliph Mu'āwiya asked the Sulamī who owned the Thaniyya to sell him the estate but was turned down. Then one day the Sulamī saw his workers in the sun (i.e., when they should have been working on an underground canal). They told him, "The wells have flowed". So the Sulamī offered to sell the property to Mu'āwiya. He claimed that he had had pangs of remorse for refusing to sell and he concealed its real condition. Mu'āwiya was advised that his original bid was too high, since the offer had been made when the property was still in good condition. Nevertheless, he paid the original price.<sup>32</sup> The "flowing of the wells" presumably refers to the filling up of the shafts along an underground aqueduct. Upon realizing that he could not bear the expense of repairing the irrigation system of the estate, the Sulamī sold it.<sup>33</sup>

*Sulaym kāna baqiyyata ahli baytihi fa-qila lahu ash-sharid. Cf. Lisān al-'arab. s.v. sh.r.d., p. 238: ash-sharid: al-baqiyya mina sh-shay'.*

- 31 Samh., II, pp. 1066–7 (quoting Ibn Zabāla and al-Hajārī: *wa-kānat a'nāban wa-nakhlan lam yura mithluhā [...] wa-bihā manāzil wa-bi'ār kathīra wa-hiya dhāt 'idāh wa-ākām tunbitu dūrūban mina l-kala' šāliḥatan li-l-māl).*
- 32 *Fa-qadima Mu'āwiya l-Madīna fa-ṭalabahā minhu, fa-abā. Thumma rakiba yawman fa-wajada 'ummālahu fī sh-shams. Fa-qāla: mā lakum? fa-qālū: 'nsajama l-bi'ār. Fa-rakiba ilā Mu'āwiya fa-qāla: yā amīra l-mu'minīna, innahu lam yazal fī nafsi man'ī iyyāka mā ṭalabta minnī, fa-huwa laka bi-mā aradta.* The sum was paid by Ibn Abī Aḥmad, who had advised Mu'āwiya about the price. Ibn Abī Aḥmad is 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Abī Aḥmad b. Jaḥsh, Mu'āwiya's agent who was in charge of his estates; see Kister 1977, p. 43, n. 50=Samh., s.v. al-Ghāba, II, p. 1276 (*wa-kāna wakilahu bi-ḍiyā'ihi bi-l-Madīna, ya'nī awdiyatan 'shtarāhā wa-'tamalahā*). Incidentally, al-Khalīqa (also called al-Khalā'iq) north of Rīm (see below) belonged to 'Abd ar-Raḥmān's brother 'Abdallāh; see Samh., s.vv. al-Khalā'iq and Khalīqa. See also below, n. 36.
- 33 At a later stage the Thaniyya became the property of Zubayr b. Bakkār (d. 256/870), who compiled a book on the 'Aqīq, Bakrī, IV, p. 1331; GAS, I, p. 318; cf. F. J. Heer, *Die*

Thus we see that in the time of Mu'āwiya, and no doubt before his time too, there was a Sulamī, perhaps a member of the Sharīd family, who was engaged in agriculture near Medina using a sophisticated irrigation system.

*Ri'm*: In this context, reference should be made to another locality further south. A companion of the Prophet called Abū Qays 'Abdallah b. 'Utba adh-Dhakwānī, probably a Sulamī, owned land in Ri'm.<sup>34</sup> There can be no doubt that the land was cultivated.<sup>35</sup> *Wādī Ri'm* flows from the Wariqān mountains and converges with the 'Aqīq. The Mecca-Medina road used by travellers on foot (it was also used by the Prophet in his *hijra*) passed through it.<sup>36</sup>

*historischen und geographischen Quellen in Jāqūts geographischen Wörterbuch*, Strassburg 1898, pp. 29–30.

- 34 See the entries on him in the *Iṣāba*, IV, pp. 165–6, no. 4815; *Istī'āb*, III, p. 944, no. 1602; Dhahabī, *Tajrid*, I, p. 323, no. 3404. He was a Medinan and Sālim b. 'Abdallah b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb transmitted from him; the *Istī'āb* has erroneously: b. 'Amr; see Bakrī, s.v. Ri'm, II, p. 689. On Sālim see also *Tahdhib at-tahdhib*, III, pp. 436–8, no. 807. The relevant record appears in the *Iṣāba*, which has this quotation from Sālim b. 'Abdallah: *kharajnā ma'a 'Abdallah b. 'Utba, wa-huwa min aṣḥābi n-nabī ṣ., ilā arḍ lahu bi-Ri'm, wa-Ri'm min qaribi thalāthina milan min al-Madīna, fa-qaṣṣa(?)*. One of the sources quoted by Ibn Ḥajar, namely al-Baghawī, says here: 'Abdallah b. 'Utba b. Mas'ūd (i.e., al-Hudhalī, the nephew of 'Abdallah b. Mas'ūd); this seems to be an error.
- 35 Note that another companion of the Prophet, 'Abdallah b. Buḥayna from the Azd Shanū'a (his mother Buḥayna was the daughter of al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abd Manāf) also owned land in Ri'm, I. Sa'd, IV, p. 342; *Istī'āb*, III, p. 871, no. 1479; *Iṣāba*, IV, pp. 222–3, no. 4931.
- 36 Hajari, pp. 292, 321 (cf. Yāqūt, s.v. Khākh); Yāqūt, s.v. Ri'm; Ḥassān, *Dīwān*, no. 245 (read: Rīm; on Ḥamt cf. Samh., s.vv. Ḥamt and Wariqān; *Maghānim*, p. 333); Bakrī, s.v. Rīm, II, p. 689 and s.v. an-Naqī', IV, p. 1328; Samh. and *Maghānim*, s.v. Rīm/Ri'm. The distance from Medina is said to be thirty miles or four *burud* or three *burud*. Al-Khalīqa is at a distance of twelve miles from Medina, between Medina and the land of Sulaym,

The B. Jāriya (al-Qurayya) and the B. ash-Sharīd (al-Wāḥida, Thaniyyat ash-Sharīd[?] and Iran) were from the most prominent leading families of Sulaym and played an important role in the *ayyām* of Sulaym and in their *ridda*. They certainly owned estates in different parts of the land of Sulaym. However, in some cases ownership could amount to no more than the right to a share of the yields, as was the case in Iran.

*Maghānim*, s.v. Khaliqa. The place is known today; it is in the 'Aqīq to the north of the point at which it meets the *wādī Ri'm*, *Maghānim*, p. 132, n. 4.

## Appendix C: The *ḥimās* of Sulaym

The B. Sulaym declared several rich meadows along the eastern and western slopes of their *ḥarra* to be protected pasturing areas (*ḥimās*). In one case, a link can be established between a *ḥimā* and a letter of the Prophet.

### *The eastern slopes of the Ḥarra*

*Wādī 'Urayna*: There was a *ḥimā* in the vicinity of Qalahā not far from Suwāriqiyya.<sup>37</sup> It was called *wādī 'Urayna* and was in fact a *wādī* in the area of ar-Riḥḍiyya declared as *ḥimā* in the Jāhiliyya and Islam. Located at its lower part was a water-place of the B. Jadhīma b. Mālik called Qalahā.<sup>38</sup>

Abū Ishāq al-Bakrī<sup>39</sup> quotes two verses of al-Khansā'; the first includes four place-names<sup>40</sup> of valleys which were declared as *ḥimās* by her slain brother Ṣakhr: "He would sometimes declare as *ḥimā* for them-(i.e., the horses) Dhāt Aḥbāb,<sup>41</sup> or 'Unfuwa, or Muḥdath al-Atm or aṣ-Ṣardā'".<sup>42</sup>

37 See on Qalahā Appendix B, n. 21.

38 Samh., s.v. Rawḍat 'Urayna; Yāqūt and *Maghānim*, s.v. The 'Urayna seem to have been the B. Mawhaba b. ar-Rab'a b. Hawāzin b. 'Urayna, who attached themselves (*indammāt*) to the B. Sulaym, Bākri, I, p. 61.

39 He was a Qurashī from the descendants of Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddiq; see on him *Manāsik*, pp. 115–6.

40 *Manāsik*, p. 337.

41 The place is sometimes called Dhāt Ajnāb and sometimes Dhāt Akhbāb. It is not clear what the correct form is.

42 *Yahmī lahā Dhāta Akhbābin fa-'Unfuwatan fa-Muḥdatha l-Atmi fa-ṣ-Ṣardā'a aḥyānā*, Khansā', *Dīwān*, Beirut 1895, p. 138 (cf. above, Ch. IX, n. 53).



The commentator on the *Dīwān* says, referring to “from time to time”, that Ṣakhr used to declare these places as *ḥimā*: he would declare aṣ-Ṣardā’ if it abounded with herbage, and would declare Dhāt Ajnāb if it abounded with herbage; all these places, he says, are *ḥimās*.

*Bayḍān*: The place-name Bayḍān appears twice in connection with Sulaym. However, it is not certain (though it is plausible) that the reference is to the same place (for the two *wādīs* called Bayḍān, see map). In the letter to Mu’āwiya b. al-Ḥakam from the B. ash-Sharīd (‘Uṣayya) it is the territory itself and in the letter to an unidentified Sulamī<sup>43</sup> it is one of the demarcating points.<sup>44</sup> Jāsir quotes the record on Bayḍān given to Mu’āwiya b. al-Ḥakam from al-Hajarī; it is the only source to mention it.<sup>45</sup> Al-Hajarī does not record the text of a letter. He says about Bayḍān, which was obviously a *wādī*, that it drains from the *ḥarra* in the direction of Najd (i.e., eastward) and that it flows to Ṣufayna (*li-Mu’āwiya b. al-Ḥakam qaṭī’a minā n-nabī ṣ. Bayḍān, munjid yaṣubbu fī Ṣufayna*). Jāsir mentions two *wādīs* known today by the name Bayḍān, both on the eastern slopes of the *ḥarrat* B. Sulaym: one drains eastwards north of Ṣufayna; it converges with the *wādī* of Ṣufayna and other *wādīs*, flows eastwards past the village al-Mahd and then descends towards *wādī* al-‘Aqīq. This Bayḍān, which is referred to by ‘Arrām,<sup>46</sup> is between longitudes 40°15’ and 40°40’ and latitudes 23°00’ and 23°20’. Jāsir

43 See Jāsir, *Qaṭā’i’*, no. 6, pp. 510–1. His name was ‘Awsaja b. al-Ḥārith as-Sulamī and Jāsir quotes the report from Ibn Manda’s dictionary on the companions of the Prophet.

44 See also Hajarī, p. 211, who mentions two places called Bayḍān: one of them is “the Ghāmid mountain, and this is the one better-known among the Arabs”, and the other is a place near Suwāriqiyya. I do not know, he says, whether the latter is a *zāhira* or a *balad*. The latter place seems to be identical to our Bayḍān since it is north of Ṣufayna, between Suwāriqiyya and Ṣufayna. Elsewhere in the same source (p. 180) Bayḍān appears in the definition of three mountains, two of which are said to be “behind” Suwāriqiyya.

45 Jāsir, *Qaṭā’i’*, n. 3, pp. 177–8.

46 P. 435. ‘Arrām mentions that it has plenty of water coming from wells; it is used for growing wheat, barley and fodder. There are also many trees there.

suggests that this is the Bayḍān granted to Mu‘āwiya because it flows near Ṣufayna. The other Bayḍān descends from the *ḥarra* southwest of Ḥādhā.<sup>47</sup>

‘Arrām<sup>48</sup> mentions two further place-names. Opposite Bayḍān there is a *wādī* called aṣ-Ṣaḥn in which there is a water-place called al-Habā’a. From the context of his description it is clear that aṣ-Ṣaḥn is not far from Bayḍān – to its south in the direction of Ṣufayna. According to Yāqūt (who quotes ‘Arrām), Ṣaḥn was a mountain in the land of Sulaym “above” Suwāriqiyya.<sup>49</sup> Aṣ-Ṣaḥn had cultivated lands which were irrigated by a *qanāt*. According to ‘Arrām, the water-place al-Habā’a was in fact the apertures of many wells, the lower parts of which were pierced. Wheat, barley and the like were watered by these wells.<sup>50</sup> The horses on which Sulaym fought in the battle of Ḥunayn came from nearby aṣ-Ṣaḥn.<sup>51</sup>

*Dhāt Aḥbāb*: Abū Ishāq<sup>52</sup> points out the link between Dhāt Aḥbāb and Bayḍān. He says that Dhāt Aḥbāb is in the land of the B. Sulaym in a place called Bayḍān; it is identical to the *wādī* al-Habā’a where Qays b. Zuhayr killed those he killed.<sup>53</sup>

47 It appears on map III of Rāshid, *Zubayda*.

48 *Loc. cit.*

49 Yāqūt, s.v. Ṣaḥn (without the article), quoting ‘Arrām through Abū l-Ash’ath (on whom see Jāsir 1979a); s.v. al-Habā’a (quoting ‘Arrām). “Above” cannot be “north of” because Ṣaḥn is south of Suwāriqiyya.

50 *Wa-hiya afwāḥ ābār kathira mukharraqati l-asāfil yufrighu ba’duhā fī ba’d min mawḍi’i l-mā’ ‘adhba ṭayyiba*. Cf. Appendix B, n. 32.

51 ‘Arrām, p. 435.

52 *Manāsik*, p. 338.

53 This, presumably, relates to the killing of Ḥudhayfa and Ḥamal, sons of Badr from Fazāra; but the Jafr al-Habā’a in which it took place was in ash-Sharaba, between as-Salila and ar-Rabadha; see Yāqūt, s.vv. al-Jafr, al-Habā’a and ash-Sharaba; cf. *Aghānī*, XVI, pp. 31–2. Yāqūt, s.v. al-Habā’a, quotes records relating to both Jafr al-Habā’a in the land of Ghatafān and al-Habā’a near Suwāriqiyya; this suggests that he too wrongly believed the two Habā’a to be identical. Note that while Abū Ishāq identifies Bayḍān with a *wādī*

The significance of Bayḍān and the meaning of the Prophet's letter to Mu'āwiya b. al-Ḥakām are made clear by the link – established with the help of Abū Ishāq – between the *ḥimā* declared by Ṣakhr (both Ṣakhr and Mu'āwiya were from the Sharīd family) in Dhāt Aḥbāb and Bayḍān. *The Prophet recognized Mu'āwiya's right to his ḥimā*. The declaration and defence of *ḥimās* may well have been among the duties of the leading family.

'Unfuwa: The *Manāsik* reports on 'Unfuwa that it is a well. The commentary on the *Dīwān* of al-Khansā' says that it is a black section of the *ḥarra* resembling a mountain, on which Ṣakhr used to camp, "and it was their *manzil*".

*Muḥdath al-Atm*: The *Manāsik* has a most detailed description of this area which he quotes from Abū Ishāq al-Bakrī. The dwellings (*manāzil*) of the descendants of Ṭalḥa b. 'Abdallah b. Abī Bakr were in al-Atm. Al-Atm comprised three small villages (*qurayyāt*), each in a *wādī* of its own. The first *wādī* was al-Muḥdath, which was a grant from the Prophet to 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr. The second was Niqyā, and the village was within it; it was inhabited by the descendants of Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa. The third *wādī* was Ḥādha, and its village was inhabited by Ṭalḥa b. 'Abdallah.<sup>54</sup>

Abū Ishāq also says that the B. Ṭalḥa, when they lived in the *bādiya*, were in a place called Ḥādha wa-l-Atm (*sic*), to the right of the Mecca road, opposite al-Maslaḥ and Ufay'iya.<sup>55</sup> According to one source,<sup>56</sup> the three

called al-Habā'a, 'Arrām says that al-Habā'a was a water-place in a *wādī* called aṣ-Ṣaḥn which was opposite *wādī* Bayḍān.

54 *Manāsik*, pp. 335–6. Cf. the name Niqyā with the Bāniqyā in southwestern Iraq, Oppenheimer, *Babylonia*, p. 448.

55 *Manāsik*, p. 116=Muş'ab, *Nasab Quraysh*, p. 279: *yaskunūna l-badwa [...] 'an yamin ṭariq Makka [...]*. The word *ṭariq* was omitted in the *Manāsik*; see also I. Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 137. From map III, in Rāshid, *Zubayda*, it is clear that Ufay'iya (Ufā'iya) and al-Maslaḥ (al-Mislaḥ) are to the left (i.e., the east) of the road for one going to Mecca. It

villages of al-Atm were Ḥādha, Niqyā and al-Qiyyā, while another source<sup>57</sup> mentions four villages: the above three and al-Muḥdath. The mention of al-Qiyyā is problematic. From the description of Abū Ishāq it emerges clearly that al-Muḥdath, Niqyā and Ḥādha were close to one another. A glance at the map makes it clear that they could not have been close to al-Qiyyā, since this last place was only three parasangs (eighteen km.) from Suwāriqiyya,<sup>58</sup> between Suwāriqiyya and Şufayna.<sup>59</sup>

Like the *wādī* Suwāriq,<sup>60</sup> al-Muḥdath was given by the Prophet to a Qurashī. The commentary on the *Dīwān* of al-Khansā'<sup>61</sup> supplies further information. The whole al-Atm is villages belonging to the B. Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubayd Allāh(!) which are located between Suwāriqiyya and Dhāt 'Irq. Al-Muḥdath is one of the villages of al-Atm. Al-Atm is above Ghamra<sup>62</sup> and al-Maslaḥ, turned away from the road; the descendants of Ṭalḥa [b. 'Abdallah – L.] b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr became dominant in it (i.e., in al-Atm). They intermarried with them (i.e., with the Sulamīs) and produced in it offspring (*ghalaba 'alayhā wuld Ṭalḥa [...], ṣāharūhum wa-tawāladū fihī[!]*). Ghamra is a village and al-Atm, a wide *wādī*.<sup>63</sup>

Unlike al-Muḥdath, Niqyā and Ḥādha, al-Atm was not the name of a *wādī* and a village but rather the name of a *wādī* alone, or, in another

is also possible to render *yaskunūna l-badwa* as "they are nomadic", but cf. above, Ch. VIII, n. 32.

56 In *Yāqūt*, s.v. al-Atm.

57 *Loc. cit.*

58 'Arrām, p. 432.

59 Between Şufayna and Ḥādha there was an evening-meal station (*Muta'ashshan*) called Dhakka, which had a well belonging to B. ash-Sharid, *Manāsik*, p. 336.

60 See below, n. 69.

61 I quote from the *Manāsik*, p. 337, n. 2.

62 Cf. above, Ch. I, n. 210.

63 *Wa-l-Atm wādin anjal*. But cf. the amendment of Jāsir, below, n. 65.

definition, a plain.<sup>64</sup> It is plausible that it was the main *wādī*, the other three being its tributaries.<sup>65</sup>

*Aṣ-Ṣardā'*: *Aṣ-Ṣardā'* was either a well<sup>66</sup> or, according to the commentary on the *Dīwān* of al-Khansā', a meadow (*rawḍa*). The *Manāsik*<sup>67</sup> says that it was in the lower part of Niqyā, the village of the B. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa. According to this commentary, it was a meadow in the lower part of the *wādīs* of al-Muḥdath. It was a permanent *ḥimā*, reserved for the horses (*rawḍa min asāfil awdiyati l-Muḥdath; wa-hiya ḥiman abadan yuḥmā li-l-khayl*). As Niqyā and al-Muḥdath were adjacent, the difference between the definitions is insignificant.

*The wādī Suwāriq*: At this point it is appropriate to refer to another grant by the Prophet. It does not relate to a *ḥimā* but to the acquisition of land by a Qurashī. The *Manāsik*<sup>68</sup> has the text of the Prophet's grant to az-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām in Suwāriq that he reports on the authority of az-Zubayr b. Bakkār.<sup>69</sup>

64 Yāqūt, s.v. al-Atm.

65 The commentary on the *Dīwān* of al-Khansā' says about al-Atm that it is *wādīn anjal*; Jāsir (*Manāsik*, pp. 338–9) plausibly suggests that *anjāl* is a corruption of an-Najīl which is, according to Naṣr, a plain near al-Maslaḥ and al-Atm with fields watered by water-wheels. The *Manāsik* itself (p. 338) says that an-Najīl is al-Atm. Jāsir reports that the *wādī* an-Najīl is still known today; it drains from the *ḥarra* in the direction of al-Maslaḥ and goes down into the 'Aqīq near al-Maslaḥ and south of the *fayḍat al-Maslaḥ*, at the northwestern edge of which the Ḥādha village is located. See also Lughda, p. 404.

66 It was called *aṣ-Ṣardā'* because when the camels drank from it in the summer, they had white fur growing in the place where a gall produced by the saddle had healed (*ṣarīdat*), *Manāsik*, p. 338; see Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.v.

67 P. 337.

68 P. 351.

69 On this grant see above, Ch. VIII, n. 94. Text: *bi-'smi 'llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīm. Ḥādha mā a'ṭā Muḥammad an-nabī ṣ. az-Zubayr, a'ṭāhu Suwāriq a'lāhu wa-asfalahu bayna mazāri'i l-qarya ilā Mawqit(?) jabali l-Mulayḥa, lā yuḥāqquhu fihā aḥad. Wa-kataba 'Alī.*

The *wādī* Suwāriq (see map) was very important for the people of Suwāriqiyya. The water of Suwāriqiyya was salty. 'Arrām says that the water of al-Qiyyā, a village three parasangs from Suwāriqiyya, was salty like the water of Suwāriqiyya.<sup>70</sup> Elsewhere 'Arrām tells us that there is some saltiness in its water and that the inhabitants bring drinking water from wells in a *wādī* called Suwāriq and another *wādī* called al-Abṭun.<sup>71</sup>

### *The western slopes of the ḥarra*

According to a verse by 'Abbās b. Mirdās<sup>72</sup> the Khufāf (or part of them) camped in the 'Aqīq during the summer. This can be confirmed by other evidence linking the B. ash-Sharīd to the 'Aqīq and its upper part, the Naqī'.

The Naqī' is described by the *Manāsik*<sup>73</sup> as the territory (*dār*) of Sulaym and Muzayna. Several place-names in the Naqī' are related to the B. ash-Sharīd. Some are connected to the death of Ṣakhr, the brother of the poetess al-Khansā' from the B. ash-Sharīd. The Naqī' borders in the east on the *ḥarrat* B. Sulaym. Yalban was an enormous hollow (*qalt*) in the *ḥarra*, one day's journey<sup>74</sup> from Medina. Yalban was one of the pools left by the torrent, the water of which remained until the summer (*ghudur taṣīfu*). The highest of these pools was Yarājim (printed: Barājim) and the

There are differences concerning the names of the places that were the boundaries of this land; cf. I. Ṭulūn, *I'lām as-sā'ilina*, p. 153; Ḥamidullah, *Wathā'iq*, no. 229. pp. 319–20.

70 See above, n. 58.

71 P. 431: *wa-ḥi mā'ihā ba'du mulūḥatin, wa-yasta'dhibūna min ābār fi wādin yuqālu lahu Suwāriq wa-wādin yuqālu lahu l-Abṭun mā'an khafīfan 'adhban*. On the interest of the Prophet's companions in acquiring sources of drinking water in Medina see, e.g., Yāqūt, s.v. Bi'r Rūma and Samh., II, pp. 961–71; on as-Suqyā (the Suqyā of Medina) see e.g. Samh., p. 972–3.

72 See above, Ch. I, n. 65.

73 P. 411.

74 This seems to be inaccurate; cf. below, n. 80.

most important was Yalban.<sup>75</sup> Darr, Yahīq, 'Asīb and Barām/Birām are all place-names in the Naqī' connected with the B. Sulaym. Yahīq is also mentioned in a verse of 'Abbās ar-Ri'lī (which may indicate that not only the Khufāf, but also the B. Ri'l, were in the Naqī' in the summer). The pool called Darr, that was in the land of Sulaym at the upper part of the Naqī' and the lower part of the *ḥarrat* B. Sulaym, is mentioned in the elegy of al-Khansā' for the death of her brother Ṣakhr as well as in a verse by 'Abbās ar-Ri'lī (in which Dhū Yahīq is also mentioned).<sup>76</sup>

'Asīb is also said to be in the land of Sulaym. The grave of Ṣakhr was there and the place appears in his poetry.<sup>77</sup> Another report, which mentions the Naqī' as the place where Ṣakhr died, says that his grave was on the top of mountain Barām (or Birām). This mountain was at the beginning of the Naqī', to its west; opposite it in the east the aforementioned 'Asīb was located.<sup>78</sup> Barām was twenty parasangs (about one hundred and twenty km.) from Medina.<sup>79</sup>

75 Yāqūt, s.v. Yalban; *Maghānim*, s.v., pp. 438–9; Hajari, pp. 285–8; Lughda, p. 412; Samh., s.v.; Bakri, s.v., IV, p. 1397 (quoting a verse of al-Khansā'); s.v. an-Naqī', IV, pp. 1325–6. On Yarājim see Samh., s.v.; *Umdat al-akhbār*, s.v., p. 376; *Maghānim*, s.v., p. 438, and the note there.

76 *Maghānim*, pp. 138–9, 269, 441; Yāqūt, s.v. Darr; Bakri, s.v., II, p. 549 (instead of Dhū Nahīq read: Dhū Yahīq, *Maghānim*, 269, n. 2). Bakri says that these are two hollows in the rock in the land of the B. Sulaym, in which the rain-water (*mā' as-samā'*) stays for the whole spring. On *ḥarrat* Darr ("below" *ḥarrat* B. Sulaym) see Bakri, s.v., II, p. 436; Samh., s.v. Darr. On Yahīq see also Samh., s.v. On Barām see Lughda, p. 412. For a *fitan* tradition of Abū Hurayra on Yahīq, see Bakri, IV, p. 1331. It anticipates a time in which the buildings of the people of Medina would reach Yahīq, *la-yūshikanna an yablughā bunyānuhu Yahīqa*.

77 *Aghānī*, XIII, p. 137; I. Ḥabīb, *Mughṭalīn*, p. 218; Maydānī, *Amṭhāl*, II, pp. 96–7, no. 2852; Bakri, s.v., III, pp. 943–4; Yāqūt, s.v.; *Maghānim*, pp. 263, 53; Hajari, p. 289. 'Asīb also appears in a verse of 'Abbās b. Mirdās, Bakri, p. 944.

78 Samh., s.vv. Barām/Birām and 'Asīb; *Maghānim*, p. 269, n. 1.

79 *Maghānim*, s.v. Barām, pp. 52–3.

The 'Aqīq (or part of it) and the Naqī' became state-*ḥimās* in the early Islamic period. It seems that the *ḥimā* declared by the Prophet in the Naqī' had belonged to Sulaym. As we have already mentioned, the distance from Barām to Medina was twenty parasangs. The same distance, twenty parasangs, separated *ḥimā* an-Naqī' from Medina.<sup>80</sup> The plain in which the *ḥimā* was declared by the Prophet was demarcated in the east by the *ḥarrat* B. Sulaym.<sup>81</sup> Another clue is linked with 'Asīb. The *ḥimā* an-Naqī' was formed in the following way: The Prophet reportedly ordered a man with a strong voice (*ṣayyit*) to shout from the top of 'Asīb. The range of his voice was one *barīd* (about twenty-four km.) and therefore the *ḥimā* was one *barīd* in length and one mile in width.<sup>82</sup>

Let us sum up. Although there is evidence that part of Sulaym were along the Baṣra pilgrim route (in the nomadic period),<sup>83</sup> the evidence concerning their *ḥimās* relates to the eastern and western slopes of their *ḥarra*. Indeed, the Sulamīs could stay in the Naqī' in the summer time because the place had water reservoirs.

There are some vague indications that the Prophet had a partiality for Muzayna. On its northern and northwestern edges the *ḥarrat* B. Sulaym bordered upon the land of Muzayna.<sup>84</sup> The Prophet gave the 'Aqīq, in which Sulaym, Muzayna and others had interests, to Bilāl b. al-Ḥārith al-Muzanī, "because it was part of the land of Muzayna".<sup>85</sup> A Muzanī called Murāwih was appointed by the Prophet to be in charge of *ḥimā* an-Naqī',<sup>86</sup> part of which at least had been in Sulamī hands.

80 Another report says the distance was a two days' journey, Samh., s. vv. Naqī' al-Khaḍīmāt and *ḥimā* an-Naqī'.

81 Bakrī, IV, p. 1325. On the mosque on the top of mountain 'Asīb in which the Prophet prayed see *op. cit.*, p. 1324. On the Prophet's blessing to the Naqī' see *Maghānim*, p. 438.

82 Samh., II, pp. 1083–4. The width of the valley was apparently one mile.

83 See above, Ch. I, n. 66.

84 Cf. above, Ch. I, n. 119; Ch. V, n. 30.

85 See e.g. Bakrī, III, p. 953; Samh., II, pp. 1042–3.

86 Samh., II, p. 1085.



Finally the above evidence points clearly to some infiltration by Quraysh into the territory of Sulaym which possibly began before the Islamic period. This, and perhaps a favourable attitude of the Prophet towards Muzayna, could point to some of the reasons behind the *ridda* of Sulaym.

## *Appendix D: The delegation of Sulaym to the Prophet*

Landau-Tasseron<sup>87</sup> rightly observes that the Prophet had concluded an agreement with Sulaym before the conquest of Mecca. Verses of ‘Abbās b. Mirdās mention a Sulamī delegation to the Prophet and include names of tribal leaders who presumably represented their clans. The context is clearly one of preparation for war<sup>88</sup> and the verses refer to Sulamī units. In the conquest of Mecca, Sulamīs fought on the Prophet’s side for the first time. It is therefore plausible that the agreement was concluded shortly before the conquest.<sup>89</sup>

87 *Ridda*, pp. 223–4.

88 I. Hishām, IV, p. 104; I. ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, the volume beginning with ‘Ubāda b. Awfā, p. 248; ‘Abbās b. Mirdās, *Diwān*, pp. 77–8; *Iṣāba*, II, p. 59; VI, pp. 205–6. Cf. on the conquest Crone, *Meccan trade*, 165–6.

89 Incidentally, I could find no support for Donner’s analysis, *Conquests*, pp. 67–8, in which he suggests viewing the Prophet’s relations with Sulaym in the context of Muḥammad’s understanding of intertribal and intratribal rivalries, “[...] rivalries over leadership within a given tribe allowed Muḥammad to gain first a foothold, and then a sizable following in the tribe as he played one faction off against another. This appears to have been the case with the Ḥijāzī tribe of B. Sulaym, who moved from an attitude of outright hostility to Muḥammad [...] to one of support for Muḥammad (reflected in their contribution of a contingent of one thousand men to Muḥammad’s force at the conquest of Mecca in A.H. 8/A.D. 630). This growing support seems to have been linked in part to Muḥammad’s ties to one of the many rival leaders of Sulaym, al-‘Abbās b. Mirdās; some factions rebelled during the *ridda* wars after Muḥammad’s death. It is possible that al-‘Abbās b. Mirdās was able to rise to prominence in his tribe because of the backing he had from the Islamic state”. Cf. also Donner 1980, pp. 34, 37; cf. on the position of ‘Abbās at Hunayn above, Ch. II, n. 43. On the *ridda* cf. above, Ch. VII, n. 80.

However, there are a few difficulties. The verses are included in a poem which, among other poems, was reportedly recited by ‘Abbās b. Mirdās on the day of Ḥunayn. More significantly, a delegation of Sulaym is also mentioned in another verse of ‘Abbās, likewise related to the battle of Ḥunayn. This verse, which mentions three Sulamī leaders: Khuzayma, al-Marrār (read: al-Farrār) and Wāsi’,<sup>90</sup> is followed by a verse on the thousand warriors from Sulaym who swore an oath of allegiance to the Prophet in Mecca, more specifically in al-Akhshabayni.<sup>91</sup> Prior to the conquest of Mecca, no oath could have been sworn there.<sup>92</sup> That the verses mention different members of the same delegation is borne out by the fact that Wāsi’ appears in both cases.

There is yet another difficulty. One of the verses (*wa-l-qā’idu* etc.) refers to an unnamed commander of a unit of one hundred warriors. From other sources it is known that the commander was al-Munaqqā’ from the Ḥārith branch.<sup>93</sup> Besides, the addition of this unit could not have brought the total number of warriors to one thousand. The Sulamīs already numbered one thousand, with six hundred from ‘Awf, “the clan of Mukhāshin” and four hundred from Khufāf.<sup>94</sup>

The verses clearly refer to the units of ‘Awf and Khufāf that we

90 I. Hishām, IV, p. 106. Suhayli, IV, p. 144 has: al-Maddār(!).

91 Yāqūt, s.v. Akhshabāni. Suhayli, IV, pp. 144–5, interprets this verse. On al-Akhshabāni see Azraqi, II, pp. 266–7 and I, Index. Cf. Nuwayri, I, p. 109 (*nār al-ghadr*).

92 Perhaps on that occasion the whole Sulamī army swore allegiance, verifying the commitment of its representatives.

93 Some sources call him: al-Muqanna’; see above, Ch. II, n. 8. As he is mentioned at the end of the preceding verse, the *wā-* is superfluous.

94 Incidentally, there was no unanimity about the number of Sulamīs that participated in the conquest of Mecca; another version mentions seven hundred; see Zamakh., *Fā’iq*, s.v. *s.b.*’, II, p. 153: *sabba’at Sulaym yawma l-fath, ay tammat sab’umi’ati rajul*. Note, however, that no Sulamī appears in the list of *jarrārūna*, i.e. those who were in command of at least one thousand warriors, I. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, pp. 246f.

encountered elsewhere.<sup>95</sup> Instead of Mukhāshin, read: Mujāshi', i.e., Muajshi' b. Mas'ūd. The *raḥṭ* of Mujāshi' are the B. Sammāl b. 'Awf b. Imri'i l-Qays, who were part of the B. 'Awf.

Nothing could be found on Abū Qaṭan Ḥuzāba.<sup>96</sup> Abū l-Ghuyūth and Wāsi' could not be found whereas al-Munaqqa' has already been mentioned above. As we have said, the other reference to a delegation lists Khuzayma, al-Marrār (=al-Farrār) and (again) Wāsi'. Al-Farrār, i.e., Jabbār b. al-Ḥakam, is well known and belonged to the Sharīd family ('Uṣayya).<sup>97</sup>

We can identify Khuzayma thanks to a passage in Suhaylī. He says that the members of Sulaym's delegation came to the Prophet and embraced Islam. They urged their tribe to follow suit. 'Abbās b. Mirdās specifically mentioned al-Maddār(!) as-Sulamī, Wāsi' as-Sulamī and *Khuzayma b. Jaz', the brother of Ḥibbān b. Jaz'*; ad-Dāraquṭnī would say: Jizī.<sup>98</sup>

95 See above, Ch. VII, n. 65.

96 The entry on him in the *Iṣāba*, II, pp. 59–60, that relies on the *Maghāzī* of Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Umawī (*GAS*, I, p. 293), adds nothing new. For the occurrence of the uncommon name Ḥuzāba in Sulaym cf. above, Ch. VI, n. 7. There are not enough grounds for suggesting that Siyāba should be read instead of Ḥuzāba; see on Siyāba b. 'Āṣim from the Dhakwān b. Tha'laba, who is reported to have come to the Prophet as a representative of his clan (*lahu wifāda*), Khalifa, *Ṭabaqāt*, pp. 50–1; above, Ch. VI, n. 20.

97 See above, Ch. VII, n. 12. He was perhaps identical to Mu'āwiya b. al-Ḥakam.

98 Suhaylī, IV, p. 144. Ḥibbān b. Jaz' was a companion of the Prophet and a member of the leading family of the B. Ri'l, *Tahdhib at-tahdhib*, II, p. 171, no. 310; cf. above, Ch. VIII, nn. 63, 65.

## Appendix E: Concerning the complexion of the Sulamīs

The Sulamīs are singled out for their talents as warriors, especially as horsemen, and for being of a somewhat darker complexion than the members of other tribes. Al-Kalbī used to say that among the Qays ‘Aylān, the leading house was that of Ghatafān, more specifically, of Fazāra, the strength was in the B. ‘Āmir (b. Ṣa‘ṣa‘a) and the horsemen were in Sulaym.<sup>99</sup>

Two of the four black warriors, fondly nicknamed *aghribat al-‘arab*, were Sulamīs. They were the *mukhaḍram* poet and tribal leader Khufāf b. Nudba and the Islāmī warrior and governor ‘Abdallah b. Khāzim. It was claimed that Khufāf was black because of his mother and because of his dwelling-place, the *ḥarrat* B. Sulaym(!).<sup>100</sup> The prominent Sulamī

99 Alūsī, *Bulūgh al-arab*, II, p. 189. Cf. *loc. cit.*, the advice (quoted from al-Jumahī) that in a contention for glory a member of the Qays ‘Aylān should refer to Ghatafān, contending for superiority he should refer to Hawāzin and he should fight with Sulaym. Sulaym are the “molar teeth” (*adrās*) of Qays, I. Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, pp. 8–9. In 145 A.H., a Sulamī leader boasted to an-Nafs az-Zakiyya that in the early days of Islam the horses of B. Sulaym were more numerous than all the other horses in the Ḥijāz put together. The number of horses they still owned was such, that had they been in the hands of any Arab, he would have been able to control the *bādiya* (*wa-‘llāhi la-qad jā’a l-islāmu wa-l-khayl fi B. Sulaym aktharu minhā bi-l-Ḥijāz, la-qad baqiya finā minhā mā in baqiya mithluhu ‘inda ‘arabi taskun ilayhi l-bādiya*), Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, VII, 581. Obviously, there is an element of exaggeration here; however, the Sulamīs must have had many horses. Such statements could not have been made by, say, a Ghifārī or an Aslamī. Cf. the boastful sayings of ‘Āmir b. aṭ-Ṭufayl, I. Sa’d, I, p. 310.

100 Tha‘ālibī, *Thimār*, pp. 159–60, no. 223; Jāḥiẓ, *Fakhr as-sūdān ‘alā l-bidān*, in *Rasā’il*, I, pp. 191–2; *Naqā’id Jarīr wa-l-Akḥṭal*, p. 88; *Khizāna*, V, p. 442. According to aṣ-Ṣaghānī

warriors in the Umayyad period, 'Umayr b. al-Ḥubāb, al-Jahhāf b. Ḥakīm and his brothers and the *mukhaḍram* poet and tribal leader 'Abbās b. Mirdās are also said to have been sons of black women.<sup>101</sup>

The inclusion of 'Abbās is uncertain. While Ibn al-Kalbī<sup>102</sup> mentions specifically that the poetess al-Khansā' did not bear 'Abbās – although she bore four of his brothers<sup>103</sup> – others<sup>104</sup> say that she *was* his mother. One source<sup>105</sup> mentions the woman's name: Hind bint Sinna b. Sinān b. Jāriya b. 'Abd as-Sulamiyya. She bore Yazīd (nicknamed *dhū r-rumḥayni*, "the owner of two spears"), Huraym, Surāqa, Anas, Hubayra<sup>106</sup> and 'Abbās,

(d. 650/1252), *al-'Ubāb az-zākhir* (GAL S I, pp. 613–4; quoted in the *Khizāna*, V, p. 444), Khufāf's mother was a black Abyssinian. 'Abdallah, who was one of the *ghurbān al-'arab*, was born to a black woman called 'Ajlā, *Iṣāba*, IV, p. 71; Jāhiz, *loc. cit.* But see the *Naqā'id*, I, p. 372: 'Ajlā was an Abyssinian woman; Abū Ja'far (=Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb) disputed the statement that 'Abdallah was one of the *aghriba*. The story about the dramatic saving of her son's life (Balādh., *Ansāb*, fol. 1190b) makes it clear that she was black: *wa-kānat umm 'Abdallah sawdā' yuqālu lahā 'Ajlā*. In addition, the *Muḥabbar*, p. 308, lists 'Abdallah, as well as Khufāf b. Nudba and 'Umayr b. al-Ḥubāb, among those who were sons of Abyssinian women and mentions that her name was 'Ajlā.

101 Jāhiz, *Fakhr as-sūdān 'alā l-biḍān*, in *Rasā'il*, I, pp. 191–2. For corroborative evidence concerning al-Jahhāf see Jumāḥī, I, p. 482, no. 663.

102 *Jamh.*, fol. 161a.

103 Hubayra, Jarw, Mu'āwiya and 'Amr; I. Qutayba, *Shi'r*, I, p. 344, mentions that she bore Zayd, Mu'āwiya and 'Amr.

104 E.g. *Aghānī*, XIII, p. 64, l. 2 from bottom; *Aṣma'iyyāt*, no. 70, p. 204; 'Abbās b. Mirdās, *Dīwān*, p. 3.

105 'Abbās b. Mirdās, *Dīwān*=I. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, pp. 456.

106 I. Kalbī, *Jamh.*, fol. 161a, l. 4 from bottom says that Hubayra was one of the sons of al-Khansā'. The *Aghānī*, XIII, p. 72, l. 5 (Abū 'Ubayda) says that al-Khansā' bore him 'Abbās, Surāqa. Ḥazn and 'Amr. Slightly different is I. 'Asākīr, *Dimashq*, the volume beginning with 'Ubāda b. Awfā, p. 237: Hind bint Shayba b. Sinīn b. Jāriya b. 'Abs b. Rifā'a. In Khalifa, *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 50, the name of 'Abbās' mother is corrupted: Hind bint Shayba(!) b. Shutayr(!) etc. The editor of the *Dīwān* infers that Hind was a negress (p. 4)

sons of Mirdās b. Abī ‘Āmir as-Sulamī. Her pedigree makes it clear that she belonged to the same family as ‘Abbās’ father: Jāriya b. ‘Abd b. ‘Abs was her great-grandfather and her husband’s grandfather. The family link speaks in favour of the Hind-version.<sup>107</sup>

An eschatological tradition includes a reference to a Sulamī warrior who was black and short and was in command of a Persian unit in a battle against the Byzantines. The unit is vividly described as a white party surrounding a black person.<sup>108</sup>

Jāḥiẓ is the source of the view that links the colour of the environment with the colour of its inhabitants. Under “*ḥarrat B. Sulaym*”, Tha‘ālībī<sup>109</sup> says that it is used to denote blackness (*yudrabu bihā l-mathal fī s-sawād*). It is one of the wonders because it is black and its inhabitants are all black and any non-Sulamī who settles in it becomes black too. He quotes Jāḥiẓ, who claims that the *ḥarra* affects the originally white slaves of the Sulamīs and even wild and domesticated animals.<sup>110</sup>

Already in the Umayyad period al-Akhṭal<sup>111</sup> mentioned a black woman

from the combination of the two reports, from Jāḥiẓ and from the *Muḥabbar*. However, it seems that we have two different versions that should not be combined.

107 As Mirdās’ *kunya* was Abū Yazīd (‘Abbās b. Mirdās, *Dīwān*, p. 109), he was probably married to her before he married al-Khansā’. Incidentally, Hind’s aunt Khālida bint Sinān b. Jāriya b. ‘Abd b. ‘Abs was married to a tribal leader from the Ja‘far b. Kilāb; see Ch. I, n. 161.

108 *Iṣāba*, s.v. Jaz’ b. Suhayl as-Sulamī, I, pp. 478–9, no. 1146 (from I. ‘Asākīr, *Dimashq* and Thābit b. Qāsim, *Dalā’il* [not mentioned in *GAL*]): [...] *ḥattā tazalla l-‘iṣābatu l-biḍu minhum qiyāman ‘alā r-rajuli l-aswadi minkum, mā amarahum fa‘alū [...] fa-‘arafa aṣḥābu n-nabi ṣ. n-na‘ta fī Jaz’ b. Suhayl as-Sulamī wa-kāna qad waliya l-a‘ājima, wa-kāna aswada qaṣīran [...]*; I. ‘Asākīr, *Dimashq (Tahdhīb)*, I, p. 28.

109 *Thimār*, p. 123, no. 175.

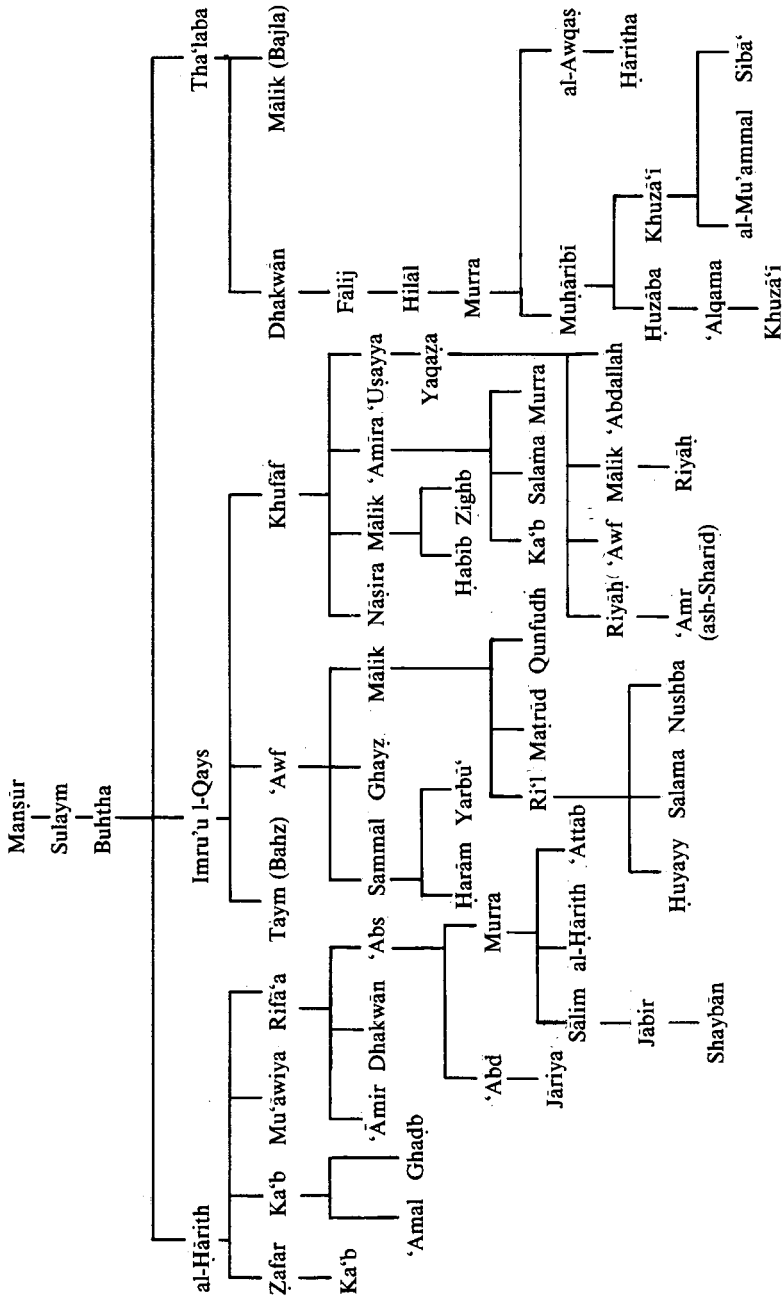
110 See also Jāḥiẓ, *Fakhr as-sūdān ‘alā l-biḍān*, in *Rasā’il*, I, pp. 219–220; idem, *Kitāb al-bighāl*, in *Rasā’il*, II, p. 313; idem, *Ḥayawān*, V, p. 370; IV, p. 71.

111 *Naqā’id Jarīr wa-l-Akhṭal*, p. 34.

from Sulaym in his satire against Qays – reference to one's colour was a legitimate weapon in the bitter rivalry between the tribes.<sup>112</sup>

112 But a white Sulamī is also specifically mentioned; see the sources on Ja'da as-Sulamī above, Ch. III, n. 79 (however, one version has *ja'd* instead of *abyad*). See also Jāhīz, *Fakhr as-sūdān 'alā l-bīdān*, in *Rasā'il*, I, p. 189. For a report (of Abū 'Ubayda), allegedly found in a book called *al-majalla*, which states that Umm Šabbār is the worst place on earth see *Naqā'id Jarīr wa-l-Akḥṭal*, p. 30: *wujida kitāb yuqālu lahu l-majalla wa-idhā fihi: alā inna sharra l-biqā'i Umm Šabbār, wa-mā anta wa-Umm Šabbār, wa-Umm Šabbār ḥarrat B. Sulyam*. Elsewhere (*Iṣāba*, VII, p. 133), a similar tradition is ascribed to the companion of the Prophet 'Amr b. al-Ḥamiq al-Khuzā'i. 'Amr, who lived in Syria and then in Kūfa, was one of those who together with the people of Kūfa rebelled against 'Uthmān and fought with 'Alī in his wars. He was one of the assistants of Ḥujr b. 'Adī and when the latter was arrested by Ziyād b. Abihi, 'Amr escaped; see *Iṣāba*, IV, p. 624, no. 5822. His pro-'Alid sympathies may have been behind the tradition of disfavour that he forged against the B. Sulaym, who were generally the supporters of the Umayyads. In this case the territory of the tribe, not the tribe itself, is being defamed.





Appendix F: A genealogical chart of the clan of Sulaym

# Abbreviations and Bibliography

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